

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1946

ROBERT A. PRATT. <i>Chaucer Borrowing from Himself</i>	259
HALDEEN BRADDY. <i>The Cook's Mormal and Its Cure</i>	265
WILLA McCLUNG EVANS. <i>'The Rose': A Song by Wilson and Lovelace</i>	269
FRANCIS CHRISTENSEN. <i>John Wilkins and the Royal Society's Reform of Prose Style (Part II)</i>	279
MAXWELL H. GOLDBERG. <i>Carlyle, Pictet, and Jeffrey</i>	291
THEODORE G. EHRSAM. <i>Mary Shelley in Her Letters</i>	297
GEORGE SNELL. <i>Washington Irving: A Revaluation</i>	303
WILLIAM T. GOING. <i>A Note on "My Lady" of 'Mod- ern Love'</i>	311
H. T. WEBSTER. <i>Possible Influence of George Gissing's 'Workers in the Dawn' on Maugham's 'Of Human Bondage'</i>	315
F. K. RICHTER. <i>Gegenwärtiger Stand der Stehr-For- schung und einige Ihrer Probleme</i>	317
JOHN LANCASTER RIORDAN. <i>Additional Notes to the Marner's "Tagelieder"</i>	329
REINO VIRTANEN. <i>Skepticism and Dogmatism in Remy de Gourmont</i>	337
REVIEWS	357
BOOKS RECEIVED	379

Volume Seven

Number Three

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

Edited by
EDWARD GODFREY COX
Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

GEORGE W. UMPHREY

Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to
Managing Editor, Modern Language Quarterly
Parrington Hall
University of Washington
Seattle 5

Subscription price \$2.00 per year • Single copies \$0.75
Issued in March, June, September, December

Entered as second-class matter May 6, 1940, at the post office at Seattle, Washington,
under the Act of March 3, 1879

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

Volume Seven

September, 1946

Number Three

ARTICLES

- Robert A. Pratt. Chaucer Borrowing from Himself . . . 259
- Haldeen Braddy. The Cook's Mormal and Its Cure . . . 265
- Willa McClung Evans. *The Rose: A Song* by Wilson and Lovelace . . . 269
- Francis Christensen. John Wilkins and the Royal Society's Reform of Prose Style (Part II) . . . 279
- Maxwell H. Goldberg. Carlyle, Pictet, and Jeffrey . . . 291
- Theodore G. Ehrsam. Mary Shelley in Her Letters . . . 297
- George Snell. Washington Irving: A Revaluation . . . 303
- William T. Going. A Note on "My Lady" of *Modern Love* . . . 311
- H. T. Webster. Possible Influence of George Gissing's *Workers in the Dawn* on Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* . . . 315
- F. K. Richter. Gegenwärtiger Stand der Stehr-Forschung und einige Ihrer Probleme . . . 317
- John Lancaster Riordan. Additional Notes to the Marner's "Tagelieder" . . . 329
- Reino Virtanen. Skepticism and Dogmatism in Remy de Gourmont . . . 337

REVIEWS

- Francis Lee Utley. *The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568* [*Helen Andrews Kahin*] . . . 357
- George Gordon. *Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies* [*Angelo M. Pellegrini*] . . . 358
- Sister Mary Irma Corcoran. *Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background* [*Harris Fletcher*] . . . 359
- Gladys Bryson. *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* [*C. A. Moore*] . . . 361

Jane Worthington. Wordsworth's Reading of Roman Prose [<i>B. R. McElderry, Jr.</i>]	362
Robert M. Smith <i>et al.</i> The Shelley Legend [<i>Waldo H. Dunn</i>]	364
Leslie A. Marchand (editor). Letters of Thomas Hood: From the Dilke Papers in the British Museum [<i>Richard D. Altick</i>]	366
Charles Frederick Harrold. John Henry Newman: An Ex- pository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art [<i>Alvan S. Ryan</i>]	367
Jerome Hamilton Buckley. William Ernest Henley [<i>H. M. McLuhan</i>]	368
Gay Wilson Allen. Twenty-Five Years of Walt Whitman Bibliography, 1918-1942 [<i>E. H. Eby</i>]	370
F. O. Matthiessen. Henry James: The Major Phase Richard Nicholas Foley. Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916 [<i>Lyon N. Richardson</i>]	371
George C. D. Odell. Annals of the New York Stage, Volume XIV (1888-1891) [<i>Thomas F. Marshall</i>]	372
Studies in Language and Literature. By the Members of the Graduate Staff of the Departments of Language and Lit- erature of the University of North Carolina [<i>George F. Reynolds</i>]	374
William D. Templeman (editor). Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Thirteen Years, 1932-1944 [<i>Edward Godfrey Cox</i>]	375
E. M. Butler. The Direct Method in German Poetry [<i>A. Closs</i>]	376
Stefan Einarsson. Icelandic: Grammar, Texts, Glossary [<i>A. LeRoy Andrews</i>]	377
Books Received	379
Announcement	381

CHAUCER BORROWING FROM HIMSELF

By ROBERT A. PRATT

It is well known that Chaucer occasionally borrowed from his own writings,¹ but at least two instances of his self-indebtedness seem to have escaped detection. These are of interest in revealing the poet's methods of composition and in helping to establish the chronology of his works. The two examples of borrowing to be presented involve the Invocations to the Virgin in the *Second Nun's Prologue* and the *Prioress's Prologue*, and the Invocations to Venus in the *House of Fame* and the *Parliament of Fowls*.

I

The fourth stanza of the *Second Nun's Invocacio ad Mariam* was of course translated from two tercets of St. Bernard's prayer to the Virgin in Dante's *Paradiso*.²

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>Par.</i>, xxxiii.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">C.T., VIII.</p> | <p>16 La tua benignità non pur soccorre</p> <p>17 a chi domanda, ma molte fiate</p> <p>18 liberamente al dimandar precorre.</p> <p>19 In te misericordia, in te pietate,</p> <p>20 in te magnificenza, in te s'aduna</p> <p>21 quantunque in creatura è di bontate.</p>
<p>50 Assembled is in thee magnificence</p> <p>51 With mercy, goodnesse, and with swich pitee</p> <p>52 That thou, that art the sonne of excellence,</p> <p>53 Nat oonly helpest hem that preyen thee,</p> <p>54 But often tyme, of thy benygnytee,</p> <p>55 Ful frely, er that men thyn help biseche.</p> <p>56 Thou goost biforn, and art hir lyves leche.</p> |
|--|--|

Critics have assumed that the fourth stanza of the *Prioress's Prologue* was also suggested by Dante's lines,³ but it is actually dependent on Chaucer's own rendering of the prayer in the *Second Nun's Invocacio*, without recourse to the text of the *Paradiso*.

¹ See, for example, n. 18 *infra*, and J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society Publications, 2nd series, No. 37 (London, 1907), pp. 52, n. 3; 76-79; 124-25.

² The texts used are F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), and G. Vandelli, ed., *Dante Alighieri: La Divina Commedia* (Milan, 1929). Here and elsewhere I use italics to aid the reader.

³ See, for example, W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed., V (Oxford, 1900), 175; J. M. Manly, ed., *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York, 1928), p. 625; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 840; G. H. Gerould, in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (Chicago, 1941), p. 665, n. 1.

- C.T., VII. 474 Lady, thy bountee, thy magnificence,
 475 Thy vertu, and thy grete humylitee,
 476 Ther may no tonge expresse in no science;
 477 For somtyme, Lady, er men praye to thee,
 478 Thou goost biforn of thy benyngnytee,
 479 And getest us the lyght, thurgh thy preyere,
 480 To gyden us unto thy Sone so deere.

This stanza is closer to the Second Nun's stanza than to Dante in four separate phrases. (1) The first line of the Prioress's stanza (VII, 474) ends with the phrase *thy magnificence*, just as the first line of the Second Nun's stanza (VIII, 50) ends in *thee magnificence*; Dante's *in te magnificenza*, however, begins a line in the middle of the *Paradiso* passage (xxxiii, 20). Here the order and relationship are DANTE>SECOND NUN>PRIORESS. (2) The Prioress's *er men praye to thee* (VII, 477) is far closer to the Second Nun's *er that men thyn help biseche* (VIII, 55) and *hem that preyen thee* (VIII, 53) than to any portion of Dante's corresponding words (*Par.*, xxxiii, 16-18). Here again the order and relationship are DANTE>SECOND NUN>PRIORESS. (3) The Prioress's words *Thou goost biforn* (VII, 478) are identical with the Second Nun's words (VIII, 56), while Dante wrote *precorre* (xxxiii, 18).⁴ (4) *La tua benignità* is the subject of the opening sentence of Dante's passage (xxxiii, 16), while *of thy benyngnytee* closes the fifth line of each English stanza and modifies the words *Thou goost biforn* in identical grammatical constructions (VII, 478; VIII, 54, 56). Furthermore, fitting in with the relationship DANTE>SECOND NUN>PRIORESS is the fact that the Second Nun's *often tyme* (VIII, 54), unlike the Prioress's *somtyme* (VII, 477), closely translates Dante's *molte fiate* (xxxiii, 17). Finally, the two English stanzas have three rime words in common.

The dependence of the fourth stanza of the *Prioress's Prologue* on lines in the Second Nun's *Invocacio* is thus established. We may ask whether the *Prioress's Prologue* has any direct relationship to Dante's passage. To be sure, the Prioress's word *bountee* (VII, 474) is close to Dante's *bontate* (xxxiii, 21), which had been translated as *goodnesse* in the Second Nun's stanza (VIII, 51); but the word *bountee* occurs in an earlier stanza of the *Second Nun's Prologue* (VIII, 38), as well as in earlier portions of the *Prioress's Prologue* (VII, 457 and 466).⁵ The only other hint that Chaucer might have returned to the *Paradiso* is his opening word, *Lady*⁶ (VII, 474), corresponding to the word *Donna* which opens the tercet preceding

⁴ In each passage Chaucer's words begin a line, while Dante's word occurs at the end of the line.

⁵ Corresponding to *humylitee* (VII, 475) are both *umile* (*Par.*, xxxiii, 2) and *humble* (VIII, 39); corresponding to *thy Sone* (VII, 480) are *thy Sone* (VIII, 36) and *two figlio* (*Par.*, xxxiii, 1).

⁶ This word occurs also in VII, 477.

the *Paradiso* passage cited above (xxxiii, 13). These echoes, if such they be, do not seem to me to warrant the conclusion that Chaucer, when writing the Prioress's stanza, had before his eyes any other source material than his own text of the *Invocacio ad Mariam* for the *Lyf of Seinte Cecile*.⁷

That Chaucer wrote the *Lyf of Seinte Cecile*, which forms the *Second Nun's Tale*, independently of and before the *Canterbury Tales*, is shown by the mention of the *Lyf* in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*.⁸ It has been suggested, however, that the *Invocacio ad Mariam* was perhaps written not at the same time as the *Lyf of Seinte Cecile*, but later, and that "it can be removed, not only without detriment, but with positive improvement, to the context."⁹ In view of this possibility, however remote, we are fortunate to have evidence for dating the *Invocacio* itself. The lines

And though that I, unworthy sone of Eve,
Be synful, yet accepte my bileve,¹⁰

show that it was not written expressly for the Second Nun; and we may conclude that the *unworthy sone* was Chaucer if the *Invocacio* was written early, or such a pilgrim as the Parson if it was written for the *Canterbury Tales*. But the borrowing from this St. Cecilia *Invocacio* in the *Prioress's Prologue* and the well-integrated position of the *Prioress's Prologue and Tale*¹¹ suggest that neither the *Invocacio* nor the *Lyf of Seinte Cecile* belonged to the *Canterbury Tales* at the time when the *Prioress's Prologue and Tale* were written; it seems likely, on the other hand, that the *Invocacio* was written before the *Canterbury Tales* were conceived, presumably, though not necessarily, at the same time as the *Legend* itself.¹² It might even be surmised that when Chaucer wrote the Prioress's Invocation he had no intention of including the *Lyf of Seinte Cecile* in the *Canterbury Tales*.

⁷ It is conceivable that lines 36-70 of the *Invocacio* had become for Chaucer a personal prayer which he knew by heart.

⁸ F 426; G 416.

⁹ See Carleton Brown in *Modern Language Notes*, XXX (1915), 231-32, and especially in *Modern Philology*, IX (1911), 14-16; and Skeat, *op. cit.*, V, 403.

¹⁰ VIII, 62-63.

¹¹ The *Prioress's Tale* is firmly linked to the tales which precede and follow it, whereas the *Second Nun's Tale* is linked merely to the obviously late *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale*. That the *Prioress's Prologue and Tale* were written for the *Canterbury Tales* and with the teller in mind is indicated by much internal evidence, including the trifling oversight, *quod she* (VII, 581), and lines 642-43 (*This abbot, which that was an hooly man,/ As monkes been, or elles oghte be*).

¹² Troilus' prayer to love (*Troilus and Criseyde*, III, 1261-67) seems to have been based directly on Dante (*Paradiso*, xxxiii, 13-20) and without recourse to the *Invocacio*; hence it throws no light on our problem.

II

The relationship between the invocation for the *Parliament of Fowls* and that for the second book of the *House of Fame* can perhaps be most readily shown by italicizing certain portions of each passage.

- H.F. 518 *Now faire blisfull, O Cipris,*
 519 *So be my favour at this tyme!*
 520 *And ye, me to endite and ryme*
 521 *Helpeth, that on Parnaso duelle,*
 522 *Be Elicon, the clere welle.*
 523 *O Thought, that wrot al that I mette,*
 524 *And in the tresorye hyt shette*
 525 *Of my brayn, now shal men se*
 526 *Yf any vertu in the be,*
 527 *To tellen al my drem aryght.*
 528 *Now kythe thyn engyn and myght!*
- P.F. 113 *Cytherea! thow blysful lady swete,*
 114 *That with thy fyrbrond dauntest whom the lest,*
 115 *And madest me this sweven for to mete,*
 116 *Be thow myn helpe in this, for thow mayst best!*
 117 *As wisly as I sey the north-north-west,*
 118 *Whan I began my sweven for to write:*
 119 *So yif me myght to ryme and ek l'endyte!*

It is easier to recognize the resemblances between the italicized portions than to determine which passage was written first, or to tell whether, in the later invocation, Chaucer unconsciously echoed the earlier one, consciously recollected it, or deliberately adapted it with his eye on the text. The *House of Fame* Invocation was woven together from thoughts and phrases found in Dante's *Inferno*¹³ and *Paradiso*¹⁴ and Boccaccio's *Teseida*, xi.¹⁵ In addition it has been suggested that *Teseida*, i, 3,¹⁶ was the source of Chaucer's opening; this opening, it should be noted, is exceedingly close to that of the *Parliament* Invocation, and it may perhaps be assumed that whichever of the two invocations was written first was based in part on *Teseida*, i, 3.

¹³ Cf. H.F., 518-21, 523, 525-28, with *Inferno*, ii, 66-11.

¹⁴ Cf. H.F., 524-25 and 521, with *Paradiso*, i, 11 and 16:

... nella mia mente potei far tesoro. . .
 ... l'un giogo di Parnaso. . .

¹⁵ Cf. H.F., 521-22, with *Teseida*, xi, 63, 3-4 (S. Battaglia, ed., *Giovanni Boccaccio: Teseida*: "Autori classici e documenti di lingua pubblicati dalla R. Accademia della Crusca" [Florence, 1938]):

... sopra Parnaso, presso a l' Elicone
 fonte. . .

¹⁶ See Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 891; *Teseida*, i, 3, 1, 3-4:

Siate presenti. . .
 ... madre d'Amor, col tuo giocondo
 e lieto aspetto. . .

To claim priority for the *Parliament* Invocation entails the following awkward assumptions: (1) that for the *House of Fame* Invocation Chaucer not only wove together materials from the *Inferno*, the *Paradiso*, and the *Teseida*, but also used still further words and ideas from the invocation stanza of his own *Parliament of Fowls*; (2) that he extracted the first, fourth, and last lines from this stanza, having discovered that they made sense if removed from their context, juxtaposed, and followed by material on the Muses adapted from Boccaccio and Dante, together with an adaptation of line six of the *Parliament* stanza; (3) that in modifying the *Parliament* lines for the opening of his new invocation, Chaucer found a word left over with which to bring the new invocation to a close; and (4) that the sense and phrasing of the adapted *Parliament* lines—both before and after modification—were in part fairly close to the sense and phrasing of one of the Italian passages (*Inferno*, ii, 6-11) which Chaucer definitely used for the *House of Fame* Invocation, but which, strangely enough, can hardly be considered as the direct source of the *Parliament* Invocation, even though four stanzas earlier Chaucer had been translating *Inferno*, ii, 1-4.

It seems far more credible that Chaucer first used *Inferno*, ii, *Paradiso*, i, and *Teseida*, i and ix, to write the *House of Fame* Invocation; and that later a simple expansion of its first three and a half lines, with certain interpolations,¹⁷ easily and naturally yielded the invocation for the *Parliament of Fowls*.

Other factors fit in with the assumption that the *Parliament* Invocation is based in part on that of the *House of Fame*. The *House of Fame* has reached us in an incomplete state and had been allowed to circulate in an unfinished or, at any rate, fragmentary condition; Chaucer seems in a sense to have discarded it; it exists in only three manuscripts, and certain materials used in portions of it were later reworked by Chaucer on various occasions.¹⁸ The *Parliament of Fowls*, on the other hand, is complete; it exists in fifteen manuscripts; and instead of reworking its materials, Chaucer showed a distinctly opposite tendency. I refer, of course, to his successive treatments of the temple of Venus described in Boccaccio's *Teseida*; in the *Parliament* he closely translated sixteen stanzas from the

¹⁷ Lines 523 and 528 of the *House of Fame* seem to be involved; it is perhaps worth noting that the second line of the *Parliament* Invocation, presumably a recollection of *Roman de la Rose* 15778 (ed. E. Langlois, IV [Paris, 1922]), is not paralleled in the *House of Fame*.

¹⁸ For Chaucer's reworking of material already used in the *House of Fame*, compare *H.F.*, 130-39, and *C.T.*, I, 1955-66 (description of Venus); *H.F.*, 140-382, 427-65, and *L.G.W.*, 924-1367 (Aeneas and Dido); *H.F.*, 388-96, and *L.G.W.*, 2394-2561 (Demophon and Phyllis); *H.F.*, 405-26, and *L.G.W.*, 1886-2227 (Theseus and Ariadne); *H.F.*, 518-22, and *T.C.*, iii, 1807-13 (also *A.A.*, 15-17; prayer to Venus). Taken separately these parallels would prove little; but together they suggest that Chaucer had no hesitance in reworking materials already used in the *House of Fame*.

Teseida,¹⁹ but in the later *Palamon and Arcite*, based essentially on the *Teseida*, he avoided as far as possible the imagery and phrasing of the *Parliament* translation, and compensated for this self-imposed restriction in various ways, including, it should be noted, the expansion of a passage describing Venus in the *House of Fame*.²⁰ While these contrasts between Chaucer's subsequent attitudes toward the *Parliament* and *House of Fame* do not in themselves prove the priority of either poem, yet, when taken into account with the two invocations, they increase the awkwardness of supposing that the *Parliament* came first, and confirm the entire naturalness of the alternative supposition, namely, that the *Parliament of Fowls* was written after the *House of Fame*.

Yet another piece of evidence on the relative dating of these two poems has been presented by Martha H. Shackford, who points out that "roi Cipion" of the *Roman de la Rose* became "kyng Cipioun" in Chaucer's translation, and that "kyng Scipioun" is mentioned in the *Book of the Duchess*, and "the kyng, Daun Scipio" in the *House of Fame*; while in the *Parliament of Fowls* this error is no longer made,²¹ Chaucer having read the *Somnium Scipionis* all day long, and having realized—possibly for the first time—that Scipio was not a king. These facts and this line of reasoning offer further proof that the *House of Fame* was written before the *Parliament of Fowls*.

Thus in both the *Prioress's Prologue* and the *Parliament of Fowls* we find Chaucer turning to his own earlier writings rather than returning to the Italian sources that had previously aided him. In each case he appears to have held the earlier rendering in less esteem than the new adaptation, and to have made no particular effort to hide or disguise the fact that he was borrowing from his own partially discarded writings. The continuing influence of Dante and Boccaccio on Chaucer was not necessarily dependent on his continual reference to the actual texts of their writings. Here instead is confirmation for the belief that Chaucer's relationship to these poets, which started in borrowing and imitation, in the course of time developed into an assimilation in which freedom from the sources was coupled with the growth of an original style.

Queens College

¹⁹ The *Parliament* exists actually in fourteen manuscripts and one early print. For the temple of Venus, see *Teseida*, vii, 51-66; *P.F.*, 183-289.

²⁰ See the first parallel cited in n. 18 *supra*.

²¹ See *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI (1916), 507-08. I am not here concerned with arguments based on maturity of style, even though these tend to favor an early date for the *House of Fame*, nor with the theory—not generally accepted—that the *House of Fame* was written after *Troilus and Criseyde*; for these and other matters related to the dating of the poems, see, for example, Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv, 330, 887-88, and 900-01, where sufficient references are given to previous studies of the problem.

THE COOK'S MORMAL AND ITS CURE

By HALDEEN BRADY

In the description of the Cook in the "General Prologue" (line 386) Chaucer states "That on his shyne a mormal hadde he."¹ When Professor Skeat commented on this passage, he seemed to believe that the Cook was suffering from a serious affliction, inasmuch as in his discussion he preferred the definition of "a cancer or gangrene."² The later editors of the Globe Edition of Chaucer merely glossed the word as "gangrene,"³ thus omitting reference to the more nearly incurable disease of cancer. In a yet later and more thorough examination of Chaucer's knowledge of the medieval sciences, Professor Curry concluded that the mormal "must not be confused with cancer or gangrene" but is "a species of ulcerated, dry-scabbed apostema produced by corruption in the blood of natural melancholia or sometimes of melancholia combined with *salsum phlegma*."⁴ This definition is clearly not in disagreement with the idea of "a sore" included in some of the medieval glosses discussed by Skeat.⁵ Indeed Curry's interpretation today everywhere commands esteem: in notes to his recent edition Professor Robinson also emphasizes the "dry" mormal in calling it "a species of dry-scabbed ulcer" and in glossing it as a "sore, gangrene."⁶

Mormal, however, is defined in the *New English Dictionary* simply, without reference to dryness or wetness, as "an inflamed sore, especially on the leg"; and the same source affords an early citation of the word: "c. 1400 *Lanfranc's Chirurg.* 178. þe blood letyng of þis veyne is good . . . for cancrena þat ben in þe hipis and for a mormal."⁷ Now the usage of the two words in Chaucer would appear to approximate closely the conception of a cancer in the hips and a sore on the leg; for in the *Parson's Tale* (line 427) Chaucer speaks of "cancere" on "the hynde part of hir buttokes,"⁸ whereas

¹ F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 23.

² W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1900), V, 37-38.

³ A. W. Pollard, H. F. Heath, M. H. Liddell, and W. S. McCormick, eds., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1923), p. 760.

⁴ W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (New York, 1926), p. 48.

⁵ Skeat (*op. cit.*, V, 38) notes the mormal as a sore in Lydgate, Skelton, Palsgrave, et al.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 762, 1089, respectively.

⁷ *NED* (Oxford, 1908), VI, 665.

⁸ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

the Cook's mormal seems to be not a cancer but an old leg sore. On the basis of the scant description in the *Canterbury Tales*, it may appear an impossibility to seek an accurate or detailed analysis of the Cook's malady; yet Chaucer does say mormal, not cancer, and does locate the sore on the Cook's leg.

Fortunately, too, there is yet a fuller delineation of a mormal in the *Treatises*⁹ by the contemporary layman-surgeon, John Arderne (fl. 1370).¹⁰ The relationship which Arderne's explanation of an unnamed canon's mormal has to the Chaucerian meaning of this word was first observed by Professor Cook, who cited from the surgeon's *Treatises* an account of "a large wound" in the leg: "And about þe ankles þre or four smalle woundez to þe brede of one halfpeny"; that is, a "wet" mormal where "wex pusceleȝ brovnysch and clayisch."¹¹ It remains to note that Professor Cook omitted some 235 words of Arderne's description, presumably because most of these relate to the treatment. There is thus one passage in the *Treatises* not hitherto quoted in connection with Chaucer; and, what is still more important, it approximates the depiction of the mormal on the Cook's "shyne" as nearly as the foregoing reference to the unnamed canon's wounds "about þe ankles." This passage does not refer to the canon's ailment as cited by Professor Cook but concerns a hypothetical instance of a mormal "about þe schyn-bone" which Arderne treated as follows:

If þe mormale be euen about þe schyn-bone, þat it be more sikerly and more sone cured it is profitable to cutte þe dede flesch and putte it away if þe pacient consent. And if it be cutte, alsonse after þe cuttyng is to be putte in a cloute wette in whyte of ane ay al a nyȝt.¹²

These directions, it will be observed, not only supplement the present diagnosis of the mormal as a "wet" old sore or "wounde" where "wex pusceleȝ brovnysch and clayisch" but also explain the subsequent therapy. In point of fact, the application of the white of an egg for curing an old sore was presumably well known in the Middle Ages, this remedy being included among others in an Old French manuscript:

For an old sore, take goat dung and old grease and make a plaster of them and put on the sore. If the scab is too hard, open it; if it is too raw, then close it, or make a paste of barley flour and white of an egg, and put it on the sore; thus is it cured.¹³

⁹ *Treatises of Fistula in Ano*, by John Arderne, E.E.T.S., No. 139 (London, 1910), pp. 52-55.

¹⁰ *DNB*, I, 548-49.

¹¹ A. S. Cook, "Correspondence-Miscellaneous Notes," *MLN*, XXXIII (1918), 379; "Chaucerian Papers," *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXIII (1919), 27-29.

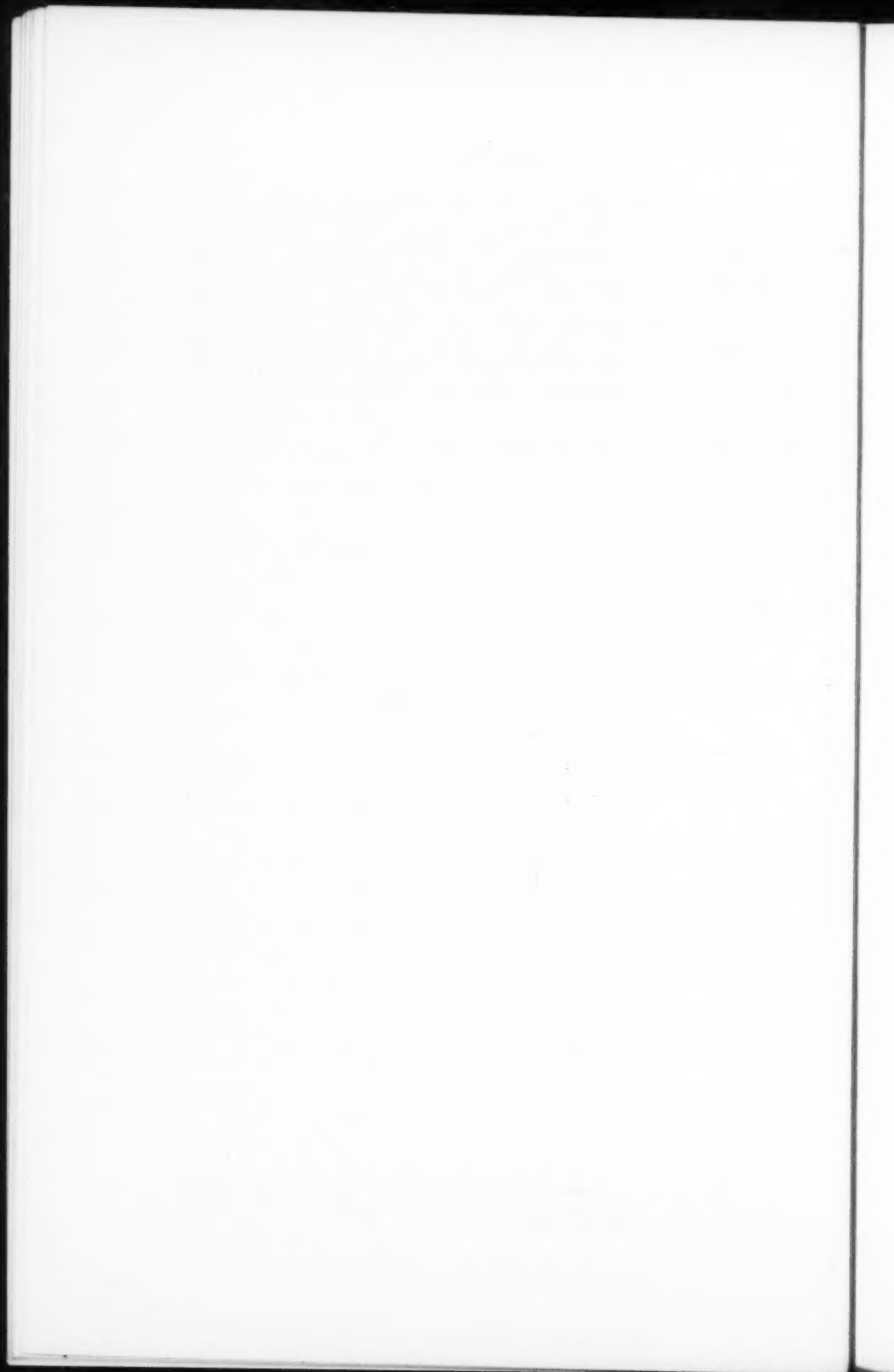
¹² Arderne, *loc. cit.*

¹³ L. Wiese, "Recettes médicales en français," *Mélanges offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris, 1928), p. 668.

In summary, the evidence from medieval sources appears to substantiate the theory that the mormal on the Cook's "shyne"¹⁴ was an ulcer or a sore, not a cancer. The evidence, moreover, seems to favor not a "dry" but a "running" sore; and interpreted as "wet or running," there seems special point in Chaucer's following the description of the mormal with the immediate statement (line 387): "For blankmanger, that made he with the beste." Finally, as for the mormal, Chaucer gives no assurance of a cure; but when the Cook later appears as a Canterbury story-teller, there is no further mention of his ailment.

Texas College of Mines, El Paso, Texas

¹⁴ Professor D. D. Griffith has kindly called my attention to the reading "chynne" in CX¹ and li (see J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* [Chicago, 1940], V, 33).



THE ROSE: A SONG BY WILSON AND LOVELACE

By WILLA McCLUNG EVANS

The recent discovery of John Wilson's musical setting for Lovelace's ode, *The Rose*,¹ reveals several variants of the text, and also stanzaic divisions and aspects of the poet's craftsmanship not apparent in the printed version.

Wilson's score is found in a contemporary manuscript collection of songs known as Drexel 4041 in the New York Public Library. Little is known of the history of the manuscript except that it is probable that at one time the volume belonged to Rimbault, and that it came into the possession of the New York Public Library through the Drexel bequest in 1880.² The collection includes songs composed by such leading musicians as Robert Johnson, Henry and William Lawes, John Gamble, Nicholas Lanier, and John Wilson. The words of the songs were written by many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets including Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher, Herrick, Davenant, Carew, Suckling, and Lovelace.

Except for a little discoloration of the pages, a slight fading of the ink, occasional repairing of edges, and a new binding, the manuscript is in good condition. Three kinds of paper went into the making of the volume: (1) plain, (2) paper watermarked with a jug or pot crowned with a crescent, and (3) paper watermarked with posts and grapes. Heawood describes watermarks similar to these and states that they were widely used from 1623 to the turn of the century.³ The copying of the songs is in several unidentified hands, and was carried on very probably during a period of years. The collection is made up of three groups of songs, representing perhaps the tastes of three owners of the volume, or of three periods in the life of a single owner. The first seventy-five compositions are numbered and indexed. All three types of paper were used in this part of the book. The second group of songs appears on twenty-three sheets of paper bound in the middle of the

¹ Wilkinson, who printed many of Lovelace's songs with contemporary musical settings, says that he was not able to find the musical score for this song. *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford, 1925), 2 vols., I, 21 n., "I have not found the setting to this song."

² Evidence pertaining to Rimbault's ownership is presented in my article, "Lawes' and Lovelace's Loose Saraband," *PMLA*, LIV, No. 3 (1939), 764.

³ Edward Heawood, "Sources of Early English Paper-supply," *Library* (March, 1930), p. 427 f. See also W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc.* . . . , illustrations 469 and 531.

volume. The paper is plain, or watermarked with the jug crowned with a crescent. The songs are neither numbered nor indexed. The third group consists of songs numbered from 1 to 37, followed by several songs without numbering, the first thirty-seven being indexed in the front of the book directly after the index of the first group. All three types of paper were used in the last part of the volume.⁴

The Rose appears among the unnumbered and unindexed songs in the middle of the manuscript. It was copied on plain paper in a hand that occurs frequently throughout the collection. The notes and two stanzas of the verse are on folio 63^r, and the third stanza is at the bottom of the page opposite, folio 62^v. Except for the partial obliteration of the last two words of the song in repairing the lower margin of folio 62, the writing is reasonably clear. There is no indication of the date when the setting was composed or copied other than that the copyist ascribed the music to "John willson," and as Wilson received his degree of Doctor of Music from Oxford in 1644,⁵ and was thereafter usually referred to as "Dr. John Wilson," it is possible that the copyist set down these notes and the composer's name before the degree had been conferred. When Lovelace prepared his poem *The Rose* for the press, he took care to use Wilson's title in the heading of the lyric: *Ode./ Set by Dr. John Wilson./ To Lucasta./ The Rose*.⁶ As Lovelace's volume (*Lucasta*) appeared in 1649, it is certain from the heading that the music had been composed before the words of the poem were set in type.⁷

The rarity of early Lovelace texts⁸ and the fact that Wilson's version has never been printed nor collated in print attach a peculiar significance to the song. A reproduction of the song in facsimile and a transcript of the words are here printed by kind permission of the authorities of the New York Public Library:

⁴ The songs are not indexed alphabetically but in the order in which they are arranged in the volume.

⁵ Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1820), II, 71, gives the best account of Wilson's career. There are also scattered references to the composer throughout Wood's works. Other comments on Wilson's life can be found in *Grove's Dictionary*, in Jeffrey Pulver's *Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927), and in T. W. Baldwin's *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton, 1927), p. 420.

⁶ Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta* (1649), p. 11. The volume referred to in this article is the British Museum copy which is shelf-marked P 25928/238 b 52.

⁷ Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, lxiv: "According to the Stationers' Registers, *Lucasta* was licensed on Feb. 4, 1647/8, and entered on May 14, 1649." In his notes to the title page Wilkinson has transcribed Master Harper's entry.

⁸ Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, lxiii f.: *Lucasta* (1649) and *Lucasta, Posthume Poems* (1659) "are the sole authority for the text. The second edition did not appear for over 150 years." Except for certain contemporary MSS of the song *To Althea. From Prison*, "there is nothing of any importance."

1

1 Sweete Serena skylike flower
 2 hast to Adorne her bower
 3 from thy long Cloudie bed
 4 shoot forth thy damask head
 5 new startled blush of Flora
 6 y^e greife of pale Aurora
 7 who will contest noe more
 8 hast hast to stroe her flore

2

9 Vermillion ball that's giuen
 10 from lip to lip in heauen
 11 loues Couches Cauerlid
 12 hast hast to make her bed
 13 deare of spring of pleasd Venus
 14 and Jolly plump Selenus
 15 hast hast to decke her haire
 16 of the onely sweetly fayre.

3

17 So rosie is her bower
 18 her flore is all this flower
 19 her bed a rosye nest
 20 by a bed of roses prest
 21 but early as she dresses
 22 why fly you her bright Tresses
 23 Ah! I haue found I feare
 24 because her cheeks [were neere].⁹

A comparison of the song with the printed text¹⁰ shows several differences in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and wording:

Ode.

Set by Dr. John Wilson.

To Lucasta.

The Rose.

I.

Sweet serene skye-like Flower,
 Haste to adorn her Bower:
 From thy long cloudy bed,
 Shoot forth thy damaske head.

II.

New-startled blush of *Flora*!
 The griefe of pale *Aurora*,
 Who will contest no more;
 Haste, haste, to strowe her flore.

⁹ The bracketed words are partially obliterated by repair work. I have used *s* for *f* throughout.

¹⁰ A transcription of the British Museum text referred to in n. 6.

III.

Vermilion Ball that's given
 From lip to lip in Heaven;
 Loves Couches cover-led:
 Haste, haste, to make her bed.

IV.

Deare Of spring of pleas'd *Venus*,
 And Jollie, plumpe *Silenus*;
 Haste, haste, to decke the Haire
 Of th'only, sweetly Faire.

V.

See! Rosie is her Bower,
 Her floore is all this Flower;
 Her Bed a Rosie nest
 By a Bed of Roses prest.

VI.

But early as she dresses,
 Why fly you her bright Tresses?
 Ah! I have found I feare;
 Because her Cheekes are neere.

The minor differences, such as spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, may have been due either to the preferences or to the carelessness of the composer or the copyist and need not be considered here. Changes in the wording are noted in the following table:

1. *Serena* for *Serene*. The printed text is clearer and more logical to a reader. The composer may have desired a three-syllable word to permit a stressed double count on the last note in the first measure. Or he may have thought *Serena* more closely resembled a proper name and gave the song the more definite characteristic of being addressed to someone, or more properly something (i.e., a flower).

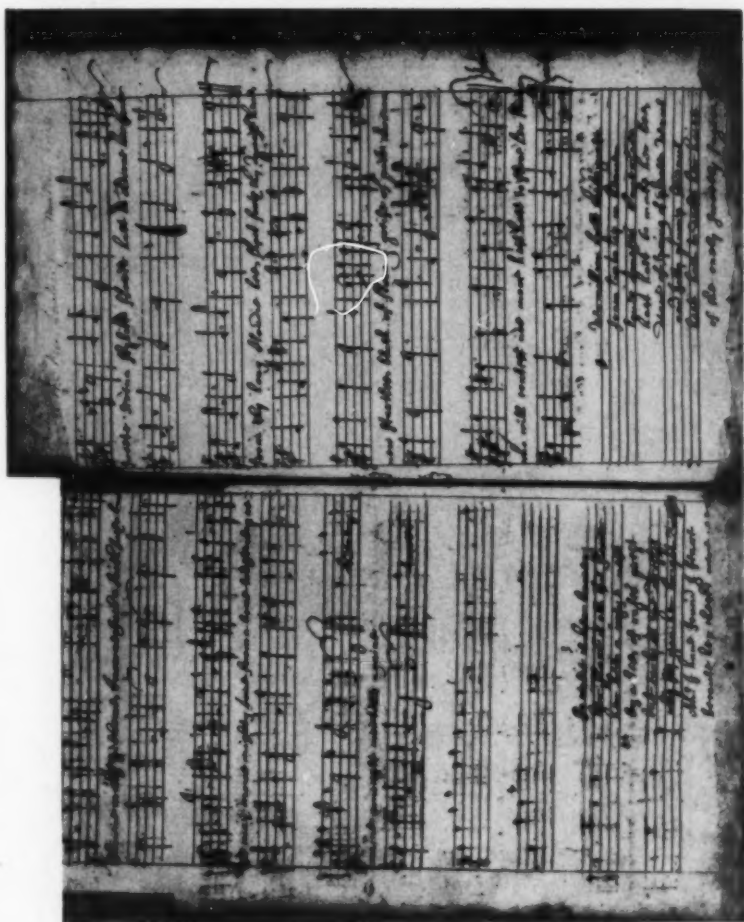
15. *her* for *the*.

17. *So* for *See*. The song text here is better for singing, the rounder fuller vowel sound being especially adapted to the high E which the word would fall on at the beginning of the first measure. *See*, however, is more dramatic and more interesting on the printed page.

24. *were* for *are*.

The printed text is on the whole clearer and more appealing to the reader, and reveals that Lovelace gave some consideration to the wording of his poem before he sent it to the press. Further evidence of the poet's preparation for the printer appears in the division of the three eight-line stanzas into six quatrains. The importance attached to the length of the ode-stanza gives this change a greater significance than might be inferred from a casual examination of the two texts. The longer stanza is associated with the conception of

Drexel Manuscript 4041, Folios 85 and 86



Reproduced by permission of the New York Public Library

John Wilson

Sweet Sirena thy like flower hast to adorn, has power from thy long cloudy

Bed, thou'st found thy Samarkand bed new startled that of Thine is grief of pale

Musical notes will con test no more, have lost to strew her flower *Ho Ho*

Vermilion bell clats given
 from top to top a flower
 has rather downy
 has said to make her bell

Thine of roses of roses from
 the top to the bottom
 has said to make her bell

Shee says is her flower
 the more is at the bottom
 the more is at the bottom
 the more is at the bottom

But says as she says
 the more is at the bottom
 the more is at the bottom
 the more is at the bottom

Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library

Bodleian Manuscript Mus. b. 1

more sustained and weighty thought, stronger emotional appeal, and a slower and more dignified movement of the verse—characteristics suggestive of the Pindaric ode. Wilson, moreover, intensified the effect of slow and dignified movement in his eight-line stanza by setting many of the syllables in the first line to quarter and half notes. The tempo for singing the song is much slower than that of reading the verse. The eight-line stanza also gave the composer the freedom essential to the working out of an interesting melodic curve.¹¹ The song-stanza might thus be considered more appropriate for musical accompaniment and more suggestive of the length and the movement of the Pindaric ode. The four-line uniform quatrains of the printed version, on the other hand, follow the pattern of the Horatian ode-stanza as "exemplified in Fanshawe and Marvell."¹² In preparing the words for the press, therefore, Lovelace appears to have tried to bring his stanza length into conformity with that of the Horatian model which was particularly fashionable toward the middle and during the third quarter of the century. What the poet did not alter he must have intended to preserve. The charges made by Lovelace's critics that the poet was careless in revision¹³ would thus not seem to be particularly pertinent to *The Rose*.

More interesting perhaps than evidences of revision, and more important in understanding the craft of the song writer, are the indications of Lovelace's skill in providing the composer with words

¹¹ V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, *Words for Music* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 46: "This is not a treatise on music, but it will be useful to draw attention to one simple form, typical in music, whether overture, symphony, ballad or modern dance tune. It is designed in four parts. In the first a short theme is stated, and in the second repeated. In the third a logical development of the theme takes place, and in the fourth the original theme reappears again. Any regular eight-line verse will suit this type of music. . . . Easy examples will be recognized in the tunes of *All through the Night*, *The Last Rose of Summer*, *Ye Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doone*, etc. . . ." Wilson's melody is more complex than the one above analyzed; he needed (all the more) the extent of the eight-line stanza in which to exercise the ingeniousness for which he was noted.

¹² George N. Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats* (New York, 1940), pp. 90-91: "When he writes odes Lovelace seems, however, to favor a quatrain stanza, the reason being (one surmises) Horatian example. At all events, the 'Ode Set by Dr. John Wilson' suggests the rhythmical ideal which we have seen exemplified in Fanshawe and Marvell."

¹³ W. Carew Hazlitt, *Lucasta, The Poems of Richard Lovelace* (London, 1864), p. xxxiv: ". . . Lovelace, in writing, accepted from indolence or haste, the first word which happened to occur in his mind. Daniel, Drayton, and others were, it is well known, indefatigable revisers of their poems; they 'added and altered many times,' mostly for the better. . . . We can scarcely picture to ourselves Lovelace blotting a line, though it would have been well for his reputation, if he had blotted many." Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, lxx: "His faults are obvious; he is often careless and obscure because of his carelessness, not as Donne, because of the complexity or subtlety of his thought." H. J. C. Grierson, *Metaphysical Poets: Donne to Butler* (Oxford, 1921), p. xxxvi: ". . . the majority of the poems are careless." Cyril Hughes Hartmann, *The Cavalier Spirit* (London, 1925), p. 117, speaking of *Lucasta*: "The editing seems to have been careless in the extreme."

suited to musical accompaniment. The subject, a rose, was calculated to appeal to a composer's tastes. That is, composers have produced some of the song-hits of the centuries when they have fitted notes to such words as "Go, Lovely Rose," "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may," "The Last Rose of Summer," and the stanza beginning, "I sent thee late a rosy wreath." In addition to his admittedly excellent primary theme Lovelace provided an equally if not more acceptable secondary subject: that of a beautiful lady, her cheeks furnishing the near background for the blossom.

The first line of the poem provided the composer with three words suggestive of the mood of the song: "Sweete," "Serena," and "skylike"—*andante cantabile* if not *adagio*. Attention has been called to the fact that Wilson set these words to quarter and half notes, thus compelling sufficient lingering on the syllables to create an impression of slow and solemn movement. This deliberation affords the time to establish the mood of sweetness, serenity, and ethereal calm suggested by the words—a mood which easily escapes the reader whose eye flashes across the first line of the printed text in less than the space of a split second. In building up the emotional appeal Wilson not only intensified the meaning of the words through the use of tempo, but also through the suggestive power of tone and melody. The song is written for a treble and begins on high E. The treble and high registers of the voice had long been associated with the idea of heaven and other ethereal connotations; and the progression of the melody along a descending scale suggests that the voice which had first captured and expressed the pure celestial sweetness of the flower on the high E was bringing its serene qualities to lower realms for the enjoyment of ordinary mortals.¹⁴ The mood of almost religious exaltation expressed in the song is characteristic of the lofty tone of the Pindaric ode.¹⁵

Throughout the text the words are suggestive rather than explanatory.¹⁶ In order to enjoy the song it is not necessary to under-

¹⁴ Thomas Morley's advice to composers was widely known and practiced after the first printing in 1597 of *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. The following quotation is taken from the 1608 edition, p. 178, and explains the relationships between heaven and high notes, hell and low notes, etc. (The middle registers, I take it, had to do with ordinary terrestrial affairs.) "Moreover, you must have a care that whē your matter signifieth ascending, high heaven, & such like, you make your musicke ascend: & by the cōtrarie where your dittie speaketh of descending lowenes, depth, hell, & others such, you must make your music descend. For as it will bee thought a great absurditie to talke of heaven & point downward to the earth: so will it be counted a great incongruitie if a musician upon the words he ascended into heaven should cause his music descend, or by the contrarie upon the descension should cause his musicke to ascend." (I have used *v* for *u* and *s* for *f* in this quotation.)

¹⁵ Shuster, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Clinton-Baddeley, *op. cit.*, p. 31 f.: "Words for music are incomplete words. They represent, and are intended to represent, an incomplete thought. The finished words . . . are only half a song . . . the words presuppose, demand, and await the addition of music."

stand or even to hear all of the words. An occasional key-word connoting sweetness, breathless calm, exaltation, such as the words already discussed in the first line, and such others as "Adorne," "damask," "blush," "pale Aurora," "Venus," "bright Tresses," and "cheeks," suffices to sustain enough meaning to carry along the emotional appeal established in the opening passage. While the printed stanzas make sense, such sense is relatively unimportant, in fact almost irrelevant to the aesthetic appeal of this song.¹⁷

When the lines are merely read (not sung), the rhyming couplets tend to produce a monotony that makes the subject seem trivial and the treatment of it mediocre. Wilson prevented these traits from entering into the song by employing a device not often used by seventeenth-century English composers. He set the first four lines to duple meter, the second four to triple.¹⁸ The change in rhythm gives something of the impression that a Pindaric ode creates when one stanza answers another; it also produces the satisfying effect (so important in opera) of aria following recitative.

To produce words capable of such interesting, and at that time novel, treatment required that Lovelace be well acquainted with the composer's tastes and problems. It is, therefore, not surprising to learn that the poet was regarded by his contemporaries as "well vers'd" in "Musick, whether practical or theoretical, instrumental or vocal,"¹⁹ and that one of his portraits represents him as Orpheus piping to wild birds and beasts.²⁰

In this discussion it has been admitted that, insofar as the modern eye can appraise the printed page, *The Rose* confirms much of the adverse criticism leveled against the bulk of Lovelace's poetry;²¹ it

¹⁷ *The Rose* supports in almost every respect Clinton-Baddeley's theories regarding the essential qualities of words for music. Personally I am not quite persuaded that these theories as such are always applicable. True, nine times out of ten, or maybe more, the words of good songs are in themselves incomplete. But such an exception as "Drink to me only with thine eyes" suggests that the final conclusions regarding "words for music" have not as yet been stated.

¹⁸ Even so thorough a scholar as E. J. Dent appears to have been unaware of this kind of shift in rhythm in English song. *Foundations of English Opera* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 127: "An English composer never changes his time-signature: I cannot recall a single instance of an English recitative which fluctuates between common and triple time, nor indeed of any declamatory music in triple time at all." For further discussion of this kind of shift in rhythm, see my *Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets*, MLA Revolving Fund Series (1941), p. 125.

¹⁹ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), II, 146-47, and quoted in Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, Appendix I.

²⁰ The engraving is printed in Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, facing p. lxxxviii, and is described on p. lxxxi.

²¹ Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, I, lix, nicely sums up this adverse criticism: Lovelace's "elliptical style is difficult and his 'wit' tends to be laboured and artificial. Lovelace is essentially an amateur, the 'idle singer of an empty day' . . . at his worst he sinks to a level from which mere craftsmanship would have saved a more experienced author, but, as Swinburne said of Nabbes, 'there is no great matter to be looked for in the minor poems of a minor poet.'" See also n. 13.

has also been suggested that the eye unaided by the ear is not a competent judge of the song—the intellect independent of the emotions cannot estimate aesthetic appeal. As T. M. Greene has pointed out, "theoretical analysis is no substitute for immediate aesthetic response or sensitive critical re-creation."²² Obviously then, *The Rose* can be justly appreciated only when the words are sung—sung under the circumstances that Lovelace and Wilson indicated as appropriate to the performance.²³

A boy treble trained to sing aubades under the windows of fashionable ladies probably represents the collaborators' conception of the first singer of *The Rose*.²⁴ The boy might accompany his voice on the lute; or perhaps the poet intended to hire two or more musicians to play the instrumental part on lutes and viols.²⁵ The time is dawn, the very margin of a pale but tranquil dawn.²⁶ The place, a rose garden adjacent to a noble old English country house—under Lucasta's window.²⁷

The direct manner in which the singer addresses the rose and the exhortation to "hast hast to stroe her flore" suggest that sometime during the performance the soloist was expected to offer the flower to Lucasta, possibly to toss it through the window, or perhaps to hand it to the lady ceremoniously at the close of the song. It is quite probable—inasmuch as ladies complimented in having songs addressed to them frequently learned to sing the words²⁸—that a copy of the song was delivered to Lucasta along with the blossom.

²² *The Arts and the Art of Criticism* (Princeton, 1940), p. 16.

²³ This song, like most of the songs of the period, was of an occasional nature. Professional musicians did not waste their time composing music except when commissioned to provide songs or orchestral numbers for special events. *King's Music*, by Gerald Hayes and Sir H. Walford Davies (Oxford, 1937), p. 8. And Lovelace apparently wrote to a purpose. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 72, points out that "Lovelace was a man of flesh and blood and not at all the sort of person to waste his leisure in writing imaginary love-poems to imaginary ladies."

²⁴ The treble clef indicates that neither Lovelace nor Wilson intended to sing the song. As the words are those of a lover addressing his mistress, and as it was customary for courtly lovers to hire professional or trained musicians to sing such messages, the most likely sort of person to have performed this solo was a boy treble.

²⁵ The score indicates the nature of the bass. A skillful lutenist could build up the other parts of the harmony from the bass. For further information regarding the presentation of an aubade, see my article, "Shakespeare's 'Harke Harke Ye Lark,'" *PMLA*, LX, No. 1, Pt. 1 (1945), 95-101.

²⁶ Stanzas 2, 5, and 6 of the printed version suggest that the lover intended to present the rose with the accompanying song at dawn.

²⁷ Inasmuch as Lucasta's bower and floor were to be strewn with rose petals, a rose garden in the vicinity would have been a great convenience. In *Aramantha*, Lucasta leaves her sleeping quarters to enter a garden, whence she takes her way to a meadow. Lucasta's identity and way of life are matters of pure conjecture. She appears, however, to have been a fashionable lady of the court; if such was the case she probably spent part of her time in her own or the Queen's rural residence.

²⁸ Waller pointed out in a poem, "To Mr. Henry Lawes," that it was fashionable in 1635 for ladies of the court to sing the love lyrics addressed to

Presented under these or somewhat similar circumstances, it is doubtful if obscure or elliptical passages in the verse troubled Lucasta; even so trivial a subject as a rose might have seemed important to the listener; and the emotional appeal of the music might very well have compensated for whatever lack of complex or subtle doctrine there may have been in the poem. In other words, the craft of the song writers was judged (and still should be) by what they attempted and by how well they accomplished what they set out to do.

Since I submitted this article for publication, another copy of Wilson's song has come to light in MS Mus. b. 1. in the Bodleian Library.²⁹ As the Bodleian version does not contradict and frequently supports the conclusions drawn from the Drexel, the newly discovered copy requires but little additional comment.³⁰ The Bodleian MS in which the song appears contains the final draft of Wilson's songs, the draft which the composer intended for posterity as representative of his MS works. The collection was bequeathed by Wilson himself to the Library, c. 1656, with the provision that the volume should not be examined until after his death.³¹ As the composer died in 1674, the inaccessibility of the collection until so late a date makes it unlikely that the Drexel copyist made use of the Bodleian draft.³² The latter, however, could have been corrected (insofar as the words were concerned) from Lovelace's printed text. A com-

them, and that the "nymphs" sometimes caught the very passions which the poets expressed. Such a court fashion must have provided the swains with a stimulus to pen lyrics which could be set to music and their mistresses with considerable zeal in the practicing of their music lessons so that they could interpret the lyrical compliments addressed to them. The musicians, moreover, must have profited from both: first by setting the words to music, then by teaching the ladies to sing the songs.

²⁹ Fol. 130. I had supposed (quite naturally, I think) that Wilkinson had examined this collection of MS songs when he was searching for contemporary musical settings of Lovelace's lyrics. I came upon a clue which prompted me to investigate the contents of the MS in some material which the Keeper of the Western MSS kindly sent me concerning another project.

³⁰ MS Mus. b. 1. is described in Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922), II, 546, 547; and in Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, II, 71, 72. It is alluded to in several biographies of Wilson, particularly in *Grove's Dictionary* under *John Wilson*.

³¹ Wood says, "But above all things that our author Wilson hath published, is highly valued by curious men, a manuscript of his framing, containing compositions. . . . This book, which is in folio, bound in Russia leather, with silver clasps, he gave to the public library at Oxon before his majesty's restoration, but with this condition that no person should peruse it till after his death."

³² Casual collectors of songs, such as the owners of the Drexel MS appear to have been, were interested in the fashionable songs of their day. As Wood has pointed out (see n. 31) *curious* men only were interested in Wilson's MS at the time when Wood was writing. The Post Restoration music very likely made Wilson's songs seem extremely outmoded in the year 1674.

parison of the two versions of the song confirms the impression that the Drexel copy represents the form in which the song was first circulated: the musical notation belongs to a period when the use of accidentals was still in an experimental state and was exceedingly irregular.³³ The treble key signature contains three sharps, the bass two, with the third sharp inserted directly before the notes requiring to be raised. In contrast, the Bodleian copy belongs to a later period when notation had become standardized, practically modern, in form. The key signature of three sharps is placed, as we should expect to find it, in both soprano and bass at the beginning of each line. A further suggestion of the earlier date of the Drexel song was the copyist's failure to use Wilson's title of "Dr."³⁴ The Bodleian setting quite naturally does not include the title in what would appear to be Wilson's signature at the top of the page,³⁵ but does bear, on both front and back outside covers, the inscription "Dr. I. W."

The Bodleian musical setting, except for the peculiarities in the use of accidentals, is so nearly identical with that of the Drexel that for the purposes of this study it is not necessary to list the variations. In regard to stanza structure, it should be noted that the Bodleian follows the four-line printed version.³⁶ Other changes in the wording are here tabled:

LINE	BODLEIAN	DREXEL	PRINTED
1	Serene	Serena	Serene
15	the	her	the
17	See	So	See!
23	y*	I	I
24	were	were	are

Hunter College

³³ In tracing the development of Henry Lawes's notation, I found that the notation of his early songs was irregular, somewhat like that of the Drexel copy of Wilson's song, whereas that in Lawes's later works was nearly modern, like that of Wilson's Bodleian version.

³⁴ See page 270.

³⁵ I have no authentic signature with which to compare this. The position of the composer's name at the top of the page suggests that even if Wilson did not transcribe the words and notes himself, he supervised, and approved the work of the copyist, and quite possibly signed his name to the composition. Composers were inclined to place their signatures at the beginning of a composition, copyists tended to write the composer's name at the end.

³⁶ However Wilson's ideas may have changed between the time when he composed the musical setting and when he approved the final draft of the song, it is clear that his original conception was that of a lyric made up of three eight-line stanzas.

JOHN WILKINS AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY'S REFORM OF PROSE STYLE. PART TWO

By FRANCIS CHRISTENSEN

II

In 1921 Professor O. F. Emerson wrote for the present British Academy a paper on "John Dryden and the British Academy."²³ In the *Dedication* to the *Rival Ladies*, entered on the Stationers' Books June 5, 1664, Dryden, then an unprofitable member of the Royal Society, expressed his regret that

speaking so noble a language as we do, we have not a more certain Measure of it, as they have in France: where they have an 'Academy' erected for that purpose, and endowed with large privileges by the present King.

Professor Emerson tried to show a "probable relation" between Dryden's proposal and that in the *History*, a relation that had been overlooked in previous discussions because no one had observed Sprat's warning that part of the book had been written and printed above two years before the rest. "'Above two years,'" Emerson says, ". . . puts the printing of the first and most of the second part as early as the first months of 1665, when the 'fatal infection' was well advanced. Probably it was in the preceding year, as indicated by other evidence."²⁴ The other evidence is, first, the fact that

Sprat makes no mention of the Royal Society's appointment of a committee with something like the purpose of a British Academy. This is almost conclusive proof that this part of the book must have been written and probably printed before December, 1664.²⁵

The second is that by the beginning of August, 1664, Sprat had completed the work that had occupied him in the first months of 1664, his *Observations on Sorbière's Relation*, and therefore he would have had ample time to write the first part of the *History* before the Council appointed its committee on December 7, 1664. From these facts Professor Emerson argues that

Dryden's *Dedication* to the *Rival Ladies* must have been printed before Sprat had proceeded far with his *History*. In all probability, also, he was encouraged to make his recommendation by the public advocacy of Dryden.²⁶

Except that it overlooks the very great probability of personal communication between the two men, who had published poems together,

²³ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, X (1921), 45-58. See also O. F. Emerson, "Dryden and the English Academy," *MLR*, XX (1925), 189-90.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, X (1921), 52.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*

and the fact that Dryden was not the first to advocate an academy, the argument as to the dates and the conclusion as to Dryden's influence appear to be sound.²⁷

It seems to me, moreover, going a step beyond Emerson, that the public advocacy of an academy led to the creation of the committee. Oldenburg wrote to Boyle on November 24; Sprat was to begin printing the next week. At the meeting of the Council on the following week the idea of a group to study the improvement of the English tongue was suggested and at once acted upon. May there not have been a causal connection between these events? A comparison of the language of the *History* with that of the Council suggests that there was.

The proposal for an English academy is introduced in the *History* with the hope that it will not be thought a digression. It is not a digression. Section XX, in which it is made, was intended apparently to conclude Book I, since it ends with the statement that the first general head has now been dispatched. Its loose relation to the general subject makes the end the appropriate place for it, but it arises naturally from the preceding section, in which the author had described the only modern parallels to the Royal Society, the academies for language in Italy and France, and contrasted their object with that of the Society in the antithesis of words and things. He thinks, however, that the time is ripe to bring the English language to the perfection it is capable of, and he suggests three functions for an academy. It should take the whole mass of our language as it exists and should set a mark on the ill words, correct those which are to be retained, admit and establish the good, and make some emendations in the accent and grammar.²⁸ It should not limit its labors, however, to words. It should constitute "a fixt and *Impartial Court of Eloquence*; according to whose Censure, all Books or Authors should either stand or fall."²⁹ And it should provide as a model for authors one "Principal Work," preferably a civil history, to be composed under its own direction.³⁰

²⁷ Edmund Freeman ("A Proposal for an English Academy in 1660," *MLR*, XIX [1924], 291-300) believes that the idea of an academy was so general several years before Dryden's proposal that Dryden deserves no credit for prompting Sprat. Emerson, however (*MLR*, XX [1925], 189-90), was not concerned with Dryden as originator of the idea, but only as an influence, just as I am concerned with Wilkins only as an influence—as an efficient, rather than a formal cause.

Dr. Sonnichsen also disagrees with Emerson, but he fails (1) to note that Oldenburg's description of the plan of the book in his letter to Boyle is based on Sprat's own statement in Part I, §II, a copy of which Oldenburg must have had before him as he wrote, (2) to observe carefully what it is Oldenburg complains of in the last sentence, and (3) to study carefully the orders concerning the book as a means of tracing its progress.

²⁸ Sprat, *History*, p. 42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

Having sketched this brief outline of its functions, he takes leave of the subject with a significant apology:

But I see I have . . . transgress'd: For I know it will be thought unadvisedly done, while I was inforcing a weightier Design, to start, and to follow another of less moment. I shall therefore let it pass as an extravagant conceit: only I shall affirm, that the *Royal Society* is so far from being like to put a stop to such a business, that I know many of its Members, who are as able as any others, to assist in the bringing it into practice.⁸¹

Of the members of the Council who were present on December 7, only two that we know of, the president and Wilkins, had read Sprat's manuscript, and this paragraph seems to be reflected in the language of the Council:

It being suggested, that there were several persons of the society, whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes; it was voted, that there be a committee for improving the English language; and that they meet at Sir PETER WYCHE's lodgings in Gray's-Inn, once or twice a month, and give an account of their proceedings to the society, when called upon.⁸²

It is hard to believe that the Council in this resolution was not taking note of the bold advocacy in the *History* of an academy on the French model, but rather was defining the scope of the new committee to keep it within the limits proper to a scientific society in dealing with language. If one were to choose from among the members of the Council present on December 7, the one most likely to have made the resolution, a process of elimination leaves one with Wilkins as the man most likely to have brought the matter up. In support of this choice one could point to two other circumstances. Six weeks later—before the committee had held its first meeting—the Council ordered

that Dr. WILKINS meet the first time (at least) with the committee for improving the English tongue; and that particularly he intimate to them the way of proceeding in that committee, according to the sense of the Council, viz. chiefly to improve the philosophy of the language.⁸³

Anyone who knows the ways of committees and councils knows that the man who makes a motion that something be done is himself commissioned to do it. Three members of the committee were also members of the Council—Croune, Aerskine, and Henshaw; and they had all been present when the suggestion had been made and the committee appointed. Why did they not instruct the committee as to the sense of the Council? The only answer is that the sense of the Council was primarily the sense of Wilkins.

⁸¹ Sprat, *History*, p. 44.

⁸² Birch, *History*, I, 499. Wilkins' name does not appear in Birch's list of members of the Council present at this meeting; but he was certainly there, for he was sworn in as secretary, proposed Hooke as a candidate for the office of curator, and was given two orders by the Council.

⁸³ Birch, *History*, II, 7.

In the second place, Wilkins was engaged at this time on *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*.²⁴ Wilkins' first object in the book was to offer a character in which discourse in any language could be recorded and from which any person who understood the character, no matter what his own language, could extract the meaning, just as a mathematician, no matter what his own language, understands mathematical symbols. His main object was to construct a language on the same general principles as the character. With a knowledge only of his mother language and of the real character, an Englishman could communicate in writing with any person who knew only his own mother language and the real character. But with the new language also at their command they could speak together, not as if they both knew English, or French, or Latin, but in a language constructed by art according to scientific principles and free from all the irregularities and imperfections of natural languages. Thus one part of Wilkins' labor in devising the new language was to create a philosophical grammar. Although he was convinced of the value of the kind of language he proposed, he had no great expectations that his scheme would take effect. But the grammatical principles of the philosophical language were applicable to instituted languages, and he hoped they might be used to remedy some of their imperfections.

²⁴ On October 9, 1662, the Council put Wilkins in mind to prosecute this design (Birch, *History*, I, 119). Part of the work, Wilkins says in the Preface, was destroyed in the fire. The Imprimatur is dated April 13, 1668. Wilkins had been interested in the subject for a long time. There is a chapter on it in his *Mercury* and mention of it in the *Vindiciae Academicarum* (1654), which he published with Ward. Other members of the Society shared his interest and assisted him. Boyle and Petty, who with Wilkins were the principal founders of the Society, and whose concern for style seems to have most nearly approached his, were interested in the idea of a universal language. Boyle wrote to Hartlib concerning an attempt by Hartlib to provide a real character, "If the design of the *Real Character* takes effect, it will in some part make amends to mankind for what their pride cost them at the tower of Babel" (*Works*, I, xxxvii). Ward assisted Wilkins by teaching him the "correct" principle for establishing the roots, not upon the words of some existing language, Hebrew or Latin, but with "reference to the *nature of things*, and that common notion of them, wherein mankind does agree" (Preface). This principle meant that the roots had to be based upon a scientific description of the objects of nature. The tables for plants and animals were drawn up for Wilkins by Francis Willughby and John Wray (later Ray), who were then making the first start toward the modern systems of classification. Among his other assistants were Tillotson and Lloyd. Burnet praises both of these men for their style, saying that Tillotson had "the most correct style of all our divines" (*History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy [1897], Part I, p. 335), and that Lloyd, who was "formed by Bishop Wilkins," had "looked further into a natural purity and simplicity of style than any man I ever knew" (*ibid.*, I, 339). And he explains their correctness and purity by their association with Wilkins in the production of the *Essay*.

The *Essay* has come in for popular discussion recently in Hogben's *Dangerous Thoughts* (New York, 1940), chap. 2, where the real character is called a "phonetic form of symbolic logic" and in Bodmer's *The Loom of Language* (New York, 1944), pp. 450-55. Neither of these men seems to be aware of Miss Stimson's refutation of Wood's charge that Wilkins borrowed without acknowledgment from George Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum* (1661).

In the last chapter of the *Essay* Wilkins makes a comparison between a philosophical grammar and the grammar of instituted languages, using Latin as his model because it was Latin that his own language was to replace as a medium for universal communication, and because, unlike Bacon, he held that Latin was less perfect than English. The imperfections he finds in Latin may be summarized as follows: (1) *Orthography*. There are at once too many letters and too few; and the same sound is not always represented by the same letter, and vice versa. (2) *Etymology*. There are at once too many and too few words, so that for some notions there are many words, for others none; and the meaning of many words is equivocal. In the formation of words, the same notion is not always expressed by the same termination, and vice versa; and there are many modifications of meaning which could be provided for by composition, but for which no termination exists. In the matter of inflection, there are unnecessary and unnatural distinctions and a bewildering number of irregularities. (3) *Syntax*. Syntax, like inflection, is complicated by unnecessary distinctions and innumerable exceptions. (4) *Prosodia*. There are many exceptions to the rules for determining accent and quantity. The principal advantage of a philosophical grammar is that it has *no unnecessary rules and no exceptions*.

Besides a grammar, Wilkins had to provide a dictionary and to adjust the dictionary to his scheme of classification—a procedure comparable to Roget's in arranging his *Thesaurus*. By bringing words together according to their denotation, he was able to study the adequacy and accuracy of the vocabulary of the language. He tells us in the Preface that in the manuscript he had marked with an asterisk "several words mentioned in the *Dictionary*, and frequently used amongst some Authors, which are yet very questionable as to their fitness and propriety." These marks unfortunately were omitted by the printer, so that we lack this means of telling what his standards were.

What directions Wilkins gave to the committee for improving the philosophy of the language may be inferred from this summary. All the details of the first duty of an English academy as envisaged in the *History* are included here. It was to set a mark on ill words, correct those which are to be retained, admit and establish the good, and make some emendations in the grammar and accent.

The other two functions suggested for an academy, its sitting as a court of eloquence and its providing a model for authors, do not appear to have been included in Wilkins' view of the duties of the committee. Their appearance in the *History* was probably with his consent rather than at his instance. He would have felt that they might divert attention from precision and accuracy of speech to what was incomparably less important, elegance and polish. There

were enough external accidents²⁵ to stall the committee, but its failure may in part have been owing to a difference of opinion about what it ought to do. The shadow of the French Academy must have fallen across the committee and darkened the sense of the Council, and the genius of its members may have been "very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue," but perhaps not particularly for philosophical purposes.²⁶

III

The standard of prose style which the Royal Society adopted was dictated by the characteristic feature of its philosophy. To explain their experimental philosophy to themselves and the world, they laid hold of one of those grand antitheses by which the human mind keeps up its pendulum motion. Their philosophy was a philosophy of things, not of words; it was material, not, like so much of the old, merely notional. Its aim was to produce results beneficial to men, not to persuade them to accept one set of notions in place of another. Accordingly, in presenting the results of their investigations they sought, whether in speaking before the Society or in writing for their registers, simply to explain and record. The fundamental principle underlying their idea of style was that their results must stand or fall by their own evidence. The only test of the kind of truth they were concerned with was its demonstrability. The medium of words in which the investigation was recorded must be colorless. One particular experiment or demonstration might be in some respect faulty and another in every respect perfect; but it was even more serious for the language of the report to conceal the fault of the one than to fail to reveal the perfection of the other. This much can be gathered from the admirable paragraph in which Sprat sets forth the "model of their design":

Their purpose is, in short, to make faithful *Records*, of all the works of *Nature*, or *Art*, which can come within their reach: that so the present Age, and posterity, may be able to put a mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long prescription: to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected: to push on those, which are already known, to more various uses: and to make the way more passable, to what remains unreveal'd. This is the compass of their Design. And to accomplish this, they have indeavor'd, to separate the knowledge of *Nature*, from the colours of *Rhetorick*, the devices of *Fancy*, or the delightful deceit of *Fables*. They have labor'd to inlarge it, from being confin'd to the custody of a few; or from servitude to private interests. They have striven to preserve it from being over-press'd by a confus'd heap of vain, and useless particulars; or from being straitned and bounded too much up by General Doctrines. They have try'd, to put it into a condition of perpetual increasing; by settling an inviolable correspondence between the hand, and the brain. . . . They have attempted, to free it from the Artifice, and Humors, and Passions of Sects; to render it an Instrument

²⁵ See Evelyn's account to Pepys quoted by Emerson, or see J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908), II, 327-29.

²⁶ See Evelyn's suggestions to the chairman, also quoted by Emerson, or see Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 310-13.

whereby Mankind may obtain a Dominion over *Things* and not onely over one another's *Judgements*. And lastly, they have begun to establish these Reformations in Philosophy, not so much, by any Solemnity of Laws, or ostentation of Ceremonies, as by solid Practice, and examples; not, by a glorious pomp of Words; but by the silent, effectual, and unanswerable Arguments of real Productions.⁸⁷

One cannot read the *History* without admiring the fine understanding and foresight of the men who laid this design for the promotion of knowledge. And of all their provisions, none is more admirable than their resolute determination to use no other persuasion than the "silent, effectual, and unanswerable Arguments" of facts. It was this rigorous self-discipline more than anything else that insured the permanence of the Society; and it was this self-discipline that determined their standards of discourse. This can be shown from that section of the *History* in which the purpose of having experiments tried before a large assembly is explained. The advantages are largeness of observation and diversity of judgments, and these have been gained without the usual mischief of faction. "Nor have they been onely free from *Faction*," Sprat declares, "but from the very *Causes* and *beginnings* of it." The reason is that

It was in vain for any man amongst them to strive to preffer himself before another; or to seek for any great glory from the subtilty of his Wit; seeing it was the inartificial process of the *Experiment*, and not the *Acuteness* of any Commentary upon it, which they have had in veneration. There was no room left, for any attempt, to heat their own, or others minds, beyond a due temper; where they were not allow'd to expatiate, or amplify, or connect specious arguments together.⁸⁸

This passage forms a good introduction to the section on style, showing that that section is pertinent to the general scheme. Section XX, glossed "Their Manner and Discourse," is the last section in that part of Book I describing the Society's manner of conducting its proceedings. As the passage just quoted prepares us to expect, it refers, primarily, not to their writing, but to their manner in discussing experiments before the whole body of the Society. But the reference is not exclusively to speaking, as the phrase, "and all other businesses," in the passage to be quoted, shows.

Thus they have directed, judg'd, conjectur'd upon, and improved *Experiments*. But lastly, in these, and all other businesses, that have come under their care; there is one thing more, about which the *Society* has been most solicitous; and that is, the manner of their *Discourse*: which, unless they had been very watchful to keep in due temper, the whole spirit and vigour of their *Design*, had been soon eaten out, by the luxury and redundancy of Speech.⁸⁹ The ill effects of this superfluity of talking, have already overwhelm'd most

⁸⁷ Pp. 61-62.

⁸⁸ P. 91.

⁸⁹ Compare this with the following passage from Wilkins' *Essay*: "witness the present Age, especially the late times, wherein this grand imposture of Phrases hath almost eaten out solid Knowledge in all professions: such men generally being of most esteem who are skilled in these Canting forms of speech, though in nothing else" (p. 18).

other *Arts* and *Professions*; insomuch that when I consider the means of *happy living*, and the causes of their corruption, I can hardly forbear recanting what I said before;⁴⁰ and concluding, that *eloquence* ought to be banish'd out of all *civil Societies*, as a thing fatal to Peace and good Manners. To this opinion I should wholly incline; if I did not find, that it is a Weapon, which may be as easily procur'd by *bad* men, as *good*; and that if these should onely cast it away, and those retain it; the *naked Innocence* of vertue, would be upon all occasions expos'd to the *armed Malice* of the wicked. This is the chief reason, that should now keep up the Ornaments of speaking, in any request: since they are so much degenerated from their original usefulness.⁴¹

This topic is elaborated with some warmth before the reform which the Society has insisted on is described.

They have therefore been most rigorous in putting in execution, the only Remedy, that can be found for this *extravagance*: and that has been, a constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *things*, almost in an equal number of *words*. They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of *Artizans*, *Countrymen*, and *Merchants*, before that, of *Wits*, or *Scholars*.⁴²

It now remains to show whether Wilkins' ideas about style and expression accord with this pronouncement. If they do not, it can hardly be thought that he was instrumental in determining the attitude of the Society. Before beginning, it may be emphasized again that in his scheme for a real character and a philosophical language he was carrying out to the final conclusion one of the implications of the antithesis between the philosophies of words and things. The philosophy of things, ideally, must replace words by symbols representative of things. This is exactly what Wilkins attempts. The word *horse* (*equus* in Latin, *cheval* in French, *Pferd* in German) is to be replaced by a character in writing and a word in speaking which represents a scientific description of the horse by species and differentia. It would be universally intelligible to people of all languages and times, provided only that they could identify a horse by the scientific description of it. And therein lies one of the principal utilities of the real language: in learning it one would be learning not arbitrary words, but the nature of things. It was a worthy enterprise, and Sprat well says of its author,

it well became him to teach a *Communion* of Speech amongst all *Philosophers*; whose chief study it has always been, to promote a general agreement and correspondence amongst all *Virtuous* and *Wise* men.⁴³

⁴⁰ About a court of eloquence.

⁴¹ P. 111. The last two sentences explain why Sprat's style in the *History* does not conform strictly to the standard set by the Society for its specific purposes. The end is different; the audience is different. Sprat is not so much to record as to convince. "Detractors of the Society," he says in the *Advertisement*, "did make it necessary for me to write of it, not altogether in the way of a *plain History*, but sometimes of an *Apology*."

⁴² P. 113.

⁴³ Pp. 251-52.

Wilkins apparently was one of the first men of the century to see that a general agreement and correspondence among men could be promoted by proper use of language.

Besides the *Essay*, the best place for direct evidence of Wilkins' standards of discourse is *Ecclesiastes*, a short treatise on the art of preaching, one of the first of its kind in English. It has the advantage of being early, its date being 1646, two years before he went to Oxford to become Warden of Wadham College. In this we get an explicit avowal of what he considered desirable in prose style. It proves that, like his style, his opinions about style were formed very early.

The little book is full of triads: three aspects of the sermon are discussed—method, matter, and expression; the scope of a divine orator is considered to be to teach clearly, convince strongly, and persuade powerfully; the sermon therefore has three divisions—explication, confirmation, and application. Expression is treated last and, of course, briefly. But throughout the book there are recommendations for handling the various parts of the sermon which show how Wilkins insisted that the purpose of expression is to express, not to conceal, and that care must be taken lest the vessel corrupt the liquor. The preface, he says, must be *clear, pertinent, and short*.⁴⁴ After the unfolding of the text come the observations on it, which should always "follow from the words by a strong logical consequence,"⁴⁵ so that the words of Scripture should not be wrested into improper truths. The observations themselves "must be laid down in the most easie perspicuous phrase that may be, not obscured by any rhetorical or affected expressions; for if the hearers mistake in that, all that follows will be to little purpose."⁴⁶ The next part is the confirmation, and the preacher must remember "always to connect these several parts by some plain and brief transition, so that the method may be the more perspicuous."⁴⁷ The first two parts of the sermon are taken up with doctrine, the third with application; and the manner of treating the two is distinguished. The first two may be treated "in a generall notionall way," but the third must be treated "in such a *home and applicatory* manner, as may have some peculiar reference unto the hearers."⁴⁸ When his object is polemic, the preacher should remember that "Soft words and hard arguments [are] the most effectuall way to convince."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Ecclesiastes*, 3rd ed. (1651), p. 10.

⁴⁵ P. 16.

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ P. 17.

⁴⁸ P. 20.

⁴⁹ P. 22. One of Wilkins' sermons is on the text ". . . a soft tongue breaketh the bone" (*Proverbs* XXV, 15).

The section on expression is handled with such exemplary brevity and conciseness that it is almost impossible to condense it; quotation is shorter than summary. Expression is divided into elocution and phrase. Four qualities are recommended for the phrase: it should be plain, full, wholesome, and affectionate. In making his discourse plain, full, wholesome, and affectionate, the preacher disavows all design upon his hearers; their consent is a consent to the truth of his teaching rather than a submission of their minds to a specious array of words. "'Tis a sign of low thoughts and designes," he says, "when a man's chief study is about the polishing of his phrase and words." Such a one speaks "only from his *mouth* and not from his *heart*."⁵⁰ Therefore the style should be plain.

It must be plain and naturall, not being darkened with Scholasticall harshness, or Rhetorical flourishes. Obscurity in the discourse is an argument of ignorance in the minde. The greatest learning is to be seen in the greatest plainnesse. The more clearly we understand anything our selves, the more easily we can expound it to others. When the notion itself is good, the best way to set it off, is in the most obvious plain expression.⁵¹

For confirmation he calls upon St. Paul, whose preaching was "not in wisdom of words, or excellency of speech. . . ."⁵²

By "fullness" Wilkins seems to mean the exact fitting of the expression to the thought.

It must be full, without any empty and needless Tautologies, which are to be avoided in every *solid* business, much more in *sacred*. Our expressions should be so *close*, that they may not be *obscure*, and so *plain*, that they may not seem vain and tedious.⁵³

Under "wholesomeness" Wilkins warns against the perversion of doctrine by the misuse of language. We have seen how by the universal language he hoped to rid science of this perversity; the whole program of the philosophy of things is directed against the same evil.

False opinions do many times insinuate themselves by the use of suspicious phrases. And 'tis a dangerous fault, when men cannot content themselves with the *wholesome forme of sound words*, but do altogether affect new light and new language, which may in time destroy practicall Godliness and the power of Religion.⁵⁴

That the language should be affectionate means that it should be sincere, "as proceeding from the heart, and an experimental acquaintance with those truths which we deliver."⁵⁵ What Wilkins has to say upon this head prepares for the Royal Society's preference for the language of "Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that,

⁵⁰ P. 129.

⁵¹ P. 128.

⁵² *Loc. cit.*

⁵³ P. 129.

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁵ P. 130.

of Wits, or Scholars." He tells the story of Junius, before his conversion, how

meeting once with a country-man as he was in a journey, and falling into discourse with him about divers points of Religion, he observed the plain fellow to talk so experimentally, with so much heartinesse and affection, as made him first begin to think, that sure there was something more in those truths, then his notionall humane learning had yet discovered.⁸⁶

In this way Junius was converted; and in the same way another learned man, after countering the arguments of a whole assembly of men as learned as he, was convinced by "a grave pious man of no note for learning."⁸⁷

It will be granted, I think, that there is little, if anything, in the resolutions of the Society concerning their discourse that is not already formulated here by Wilkins in this little treatise, written first to clarify his own mind about his duty as a preacher. The motive springs from the same apprehension of the danger of extravagance of speech, and the remedy for correcting it is the same. In his other writings the same vices of style are repeatedly deprecated and the same remedies repeatedly prescribed. A few representative passages will show the persistence of these views.

To the treatise on the art of preaching Wilkins added a companion volume on the art of prayer. What he says about expression naturally falls into the old categories. Here fullness and plainness are required.

Job speaks of choosing out his words, to reason with God. As it is amongst Persons and Things, so it is amongst Expressions too, some are choice and beautiful, others refuse and improper. Now a man should be careful to select the fittest words to express himself in this duty. . . . Beware of crude, tumultuary Meditations; of idle, impertinent, wild expressions; take heed of all empty repetitions, digressions, prolixity. . . . Let thy words be few; not that brevity or fewness of words is the proper excellency of Prayer . . . but because those that speak little, do probably study and ponder more upon what they say.⁸⁸

Here plainness and wholesomeness are recommended in a warning against

Affectation, either of too much Neatness and Elegance, or else of a mystical kind of Phrase, not to be found either in Scripture, or any sober Writer, (though much in fashion among some Men in these times) which, it may be, sounds well to vulgar Ears; but being reduced into plain English, will appear to be wholly empty, and to signifie nothing, or else to be full of vain Repetitions.⁸⁹

For affectionateness we may take a passage from an enlarged preface added to one of the later editions of *Ecclesiastes*. It comes up in connection with a plan for providing a preacher with matter upon any subject, for want of which, he affirms,

⁸⁶ Pp. 130-31.

⁸⁷ P. 130.

⁸⁸ *A Discourse Concerning the Gift of Prayer* (1704), pp. 15-16.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

some men are fain to *divert* their Hearers with little tricks about Words or Phrases, or to amuse them by pretending to discover some deep Mystery in every Metaphor or Allegory of Scripture; which are pitiful shifts, as men who understand the true Reason of Things, ought to be ashamed of.⁶⁰

Another passage on the kind of knowledge appropriate to the preacher occurs in one of the sermons.

That learning which consists only in the form and pædago^y of Arts, or the *Critical* notions upon *words* and *phrases*, hath in it this intrinsical imperfection, that 'tis only so far to be esteemed, as it conduceth to the knowledge of *things*; being in itself but a kind of pedantry, apt to infect a man with such odd humours of pride, and affectation, and curiosity, as will render him unfit for any great employment. Words being but the images of matter, to be wholly given up to the study of these, what is it but Pygmalions phrenzy, to fall in love with a picture or image. As for *Oratory*, which is the best skill about words, that hath by some Wisemen been esteemed but a voluptuary art, like to cookery, which spoils wholesome meats, and helps unwholesome, by the variety of sauces serving more to the pleasure of the taste than to the health of the body.⁶¹

With these selections we may conclude our study of the relation of John Wilkins to the "linguistic program" of the Royal Society. The following observations are sufficient for a summary. Almost all that we know about the linguistic interests of the Royal Society emanates from the period 1664-65.⁶² It was then that the pertinent passages in the *History* were written. It was then that the committee was appointed. For both of these Wilkins appears to have been principally responsible. At the same time he was deeply engaged on his *Essay*, in which he tried to satisfy the scientists' ideal of language by leaping clear over the bounds of instituted languages. Whether it was he who taught the experimenters the danger of superfluous talking cannot, from the nature of the situation, be proved; but his own precepts and practice being what they were, from so early a date, it is not unlikely that he was mainly responsible for establishing this point of procedure and discipline.

University of Southern California

⁶⁰ There is no page number. The eighth edition is bound with the above edition of the *Gift of Prayer*.

⁶¹ *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (1682), pp. 184-85.

⁶² Strangely enough, it was just at this time that two literary members of the Society, Dryden and Cowley, perfected their prose styles. Right in the midst of the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, when Neander begins to speak, Dryden emerges from the constraints of long sentences and uncertain clauses. What does the coincidence in time point to? If Dryden learned to write prose from the study of Tillotson's writings, did he happen on a copy of his sermon *The Wisdom of Being Religious* (1664) while he was in the country writing the *Essay*? And is there any connection between Dryden's experiment with technical language in *Annus Mirabilis* and the preference of the Society for the language of artisans and countrymen? Something remains to be uncovered about Dryden's relation to Wilkins and his protégés, Tillotson, Sprat, and Dr. Charlton.

CARLYLE, PICTET, AND JEFFREY

By MAXWELL H. GOLDBERG

In addition to his own characteristic self-will and fierce independence, and his contemporary preoccupation with natural science, a number of intersecting circumstances probably influenced Carlyle, in January of 1820, to disregard Edward Irving's advice to the contrary,¹ and to undertake, as his first contribution to the *Edinburgh*, his ill-fated critique of a technical treatise setting forth a "mechanical theory of gravitation."

It is to be noted, first, that, in several ways, during the preceding year or two, the name of the author of the treatise, Marc Auguste Pictet (1752-1825), had probably been underscored in Carlyle's mind. Thus, studying Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*, Carlyle had read of this Genevan as Saussure's collaborator in his famous scientific investigations.² Then, too, chatting with an acquaintance whom he called the "small Genevese,"³ and who was a fellow student of mineralogy, Carlyle had probably heard lively anecdotes about Pictet as one of the "personalities" of this acquaintance's native city. More recently, in the opening number of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*—the issue in which appeared his own translation of Berzelius' paper on magnetism—Carlyle could scarcely have overlooked Pictet's communication of a memorable description of Alpine glacial floods,⁴ so vivid that, a quarter of a century later, a condensed version was to be reproduced in the *Edinburgh Review* itself.⁵

¹ In a letter of December 28, 1819, Irving had warned Carlyle that, in order to obtain recognition, not from "sluggish savants" alone, but from intelligent and active men in every rank, Carlyle must choose, not from among the topics on which he was best informed (among them mathematics and physics), but from those that would most likely find admittance to the periodicals. (J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life* [New York, 1882], I, 60-61.)

² Cf. letter of February 15, 1819, in *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Norton, one-volume edition (London and New York, 1886), p. 102; *Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Froude (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881), p. 176; and *ibid.*, ed. Norton (London and New York, 1887), II, 234; [David Brewster], "Biographical Memoir of Mark Augustus Pictet," *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, V (July, 1826), 2.

³ Cf. *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, p. 102. Carlyle there notes the comments of the "small Genevese" about such celebrities of Geneva as Madame de Staël, Sismondi, and the Saussures, father and son. Mention of the Saussures would naturally lead to talk about one so closely connected with them as was Pictet. Cf., too, David Brewster, *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁴ In an illustrated account of the formation of the Lake of Mauvoisin, by the descent of a glacier, and of the inundation of the Val de Bagnes in 1595 and 1818 (*Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, I [June, 1819], 187-91). To Carlyle, fresh from Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*, Pictet's communication would be doubly interesting. In his own review of P. Freschow Hanson's translation of the first volume of Prof. Christopher Hansteen's *Untersuchungen über den Magnetismus der Erde*, Carlyle was later to point out how welcome to him had been the ingenious and striking ideas with which

Consequently, however disparaging Carlyle's retrospective reference to Pictet was to be (in the *Reminiscences* he alluded to him slurringly as the "late foolish M. Pictet"⁶), this same Pictet, for the Carlyle of 1820, was journalistic "big game." He was sufficiently big game to make up for the dryness of the subject of his treatise, and for the small importance of what Carlyle later called the "foolish enough" book⁷ itself. Pictet was, indeed, a famous member of an ancient Genevan family, distinguished for its long line of soldiers, statesmen, educators, theologians, physicians, and scientists.⁸ Moreover, in his "Biographical Memoir" of Pictet, David Brewster told how, in the spring of 1818, Pictet had made a tour of England and Scotland, how he himself had been privileged to accompany the distinguished foreigner on his journey to Edinburgh, and how he had thus enjoyed numerous opportunities of witnessing the "respect and affection with which he was everywhere received."⁹

For still another reason, Pictet's new book, unimportant in itself, must have seemed to Carlyle to be an appropriate subject for an article to be submitted to the *Edinburgh*. During this period of his literary apprenticeship, Carlyle treated himself to a course in quarterly reviewing: he read through the files of the *Edinburgh*.¹⁰ Among the articles there included was a notice and critique of a book called *Voyage de Trois Mois en Angleterre, en Écosse, et en Irlande, pendant l'été de l'an IX (1801)*, published at Geneva in 1802. The

the author had agreeably relieved the necessarily dry details of his treatise (*ibid.*, III [July, 1820], 129). Similarly agreeable to him would be the vivid descriptive passages in Pictet's account of the glacial flood.

⁶ *Edinburgh Review*, LXXX (July, 1844), 135-63, review of *Travels through the Alps of Savoy*. The book was by James D. Forbes, then professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

⁷ *Reminiscences*, ed. Norton, II, 233; *Reminiscences*, ed. Froude, p. 176.

⁸ *Id.*—Pictet's treatise was of such little significance as to receive no major notice in any of the following: Brande's *Journal*, the *Philosophical Magazine*, the *Annals of Philosophy*, the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, the *Journal de Physique*, and the *Bibliothèque Universelle*.

⁹ Cf. P. E. Martin, *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1930), V, 287 f.; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1845), XL, 90-91; J. P. Vaucher, "Obituary Notice" concerning Pictet, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, section on *Sciences et Arts*, XXIX (May, 1825), 65-88; Charles Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, Vol. I (Geneva, 1900), Vol. II (Geneva, 1909); Margaret M. Gordon, *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 92; *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, V (July, 1826), 1 ff.

¹⁰ *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, V (July, 1826), 1.

Carlyle once told Francis Espinasse that, during this early Edinburgh period, when, after resolving to become neither a minister of the Kirk nor an Edinburgh advocate, he was considering literature as a profession, he read some fifty volumes of the *Edinburgh Review*. (Francis Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches* [New York, 1893], pp. 208-09. Cf., too, D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle to "The French Revolution"* [London, 1924], p. 64.) Since the first article that Carlyle, several years later, was to contribute to the *Edinburgh* appeared in the forty-sixth volume, this remark noted by Espinasse must not be taken literally.

author of the book was this same Marc Auguste Pictet. A short piece of but eight pages (III [Jan., 1804], 287-94), for review nevertheless contained features interesting to Carlyle. For it discussed topics at that time much in his thoughts—geology, mineralogy, science, and education; and it ridiculed a specimen of a class that he himself delighted to laugh to scorn—namely, the class "*eminent cognoscente*."

The critic singled out for praise one or two details in the *Voyage de Trois Mois*; and he mentioned approvingly the courtesy, the amiability, the cheerfulness, the good temper of the author (p. 288). For the most part, however, he found fault with the "hurried observations of foreign dilettanti" (p. 294). He complained that the things to which Pictet had attended were neither very numerous nor altogether judiciously selected. For, though mineralogy was one of his leading concerns, he had visited neither Derbyshire nor Cornwall; and, without having visited either of the universities, he had "hazarded various strictures upon the learning and system of education in England" (p. 287). In Dublin, moreover, he had listened to Kirwan's geological speculations with as much docility as he had to those of Kirwan's antagonists in Edinburgh (p. 293). "We find it difficult to believe," observed the critic, "that M. Pictet is a great geologist":

He confounds the system of Dr Hutton with that of Lazaro Moro (p. 61): he proposes to improve the former theory (p. 72), by combining the operation of water with that of heat, although this combination is the very basis upon which it already stands; and, in p. 232, &c., he announces, as a discovery and original suggestion of his own, that very explanation of inflected and inclined strata, which has been so distinctly propounded in the elementary writings of the Huttonians. He is delighted with the term *whin*, or *whinstone*, which appears to be quite new to him, but is a little perplexed in the application of it to substances that seemed to possess its specific qualities in unequal proportions. Upon this occasion, he fortunately bethinks himself of the new chemical nomenclature, and determines, upon the strength of that analogy, to denominate such substances, in the future, according to their affinity to the true genuine *whin*, *whinneux*, *whinniques*, and *whinnatres*. 'After this discovery,' says he, 'I found myself much more at my ease!' (p. 289).

The reviewer's strongest objection to Pictet's *Voyage de Trois Mois*, however, was that the letters published in it were altogether too sentimental. He conceded that such a weakness might be pardoned in a man's private correspondence; yet he protested that the professor's letters had been sent, not to individual friends, but to his fellow compilers of the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, in which they had been printed as fast as they had been received. The critic insisted that Pictet's "fits of tenderness and vivacity" were not only incongruous with the "respectability of science," but also remote from the "gracefulness of nature." In short, Pictet had no talent for "inditing a 'Sentimental Journey'" (p. 288).

The playfully malicious critic made special sport of the Genevan's melodramatic soliloquy at Port-Patrick, where he had waited for the delayed packet that was to take him over to Ireland:

In this place, M. Pictet is seized with a fit of sentimental folly of which we should scarcely have supposed him capable. It begins with informing us, that a fine evening generally disposes him to sadness, and terminates in [an] ebullition of vanity and egotism, which we subjoin, for the edification of our readers. It will be recollected, that the person who makes this heroic soliloquy, is shuddering on the brink of a calm sea, a narrow arm of which he proposes to ferry over in a fine July morning . . . (pp. 290-91).

In the early *Edinburgh* review, Carlyle thus had a precedent for regarding Pictet as fat quarry for the critical huntsman, and he also had a successful example of the censorious type of article that he himself undertook concerning Pictet's treatise on gravitation.¹¹ More than that, the critic who afforded him this precedent and this example was at once his own favorite reviewer and the editor who was to pass judgment on his article—namely, Francis Jeffrey.¹²

That Carlyle recognized the author appears very likely. Identification of the writers of articles in the *Edinburgh* seems to have been an accepted practice with him and his correspondents. Thus, in a letter of June 29, 1819, during the course of comments on one number of the *Edinburgh*, he suggested, for his correspondent's verification, that Brougham had written the first article, and Jeffrey the one about Thomas Campbell.¹³ He may have been right in both identifications; he certainly was right in assigning the Campbell article to Jeffrey. By 1820, indeed, Carlyle had grown quite confident of his ability to identify articles by Jeffrey. In a letter of May 5 of that year, he unhesitatingly referred to two "well-written Articles by Jeffrey in the last *Edinburgh Review*."¹⁴

That Jeffrey, moreover, in 1820, was to Carlyle an object of admiration and emulation as critic appears certain. Six years before, Carlyle's hero worship of Jeffrey had been so high as to prompt him to exclaim that there was no subject, however hackneyed, but Jeffrey had the wit of extracting some new thought out of it.¹⁵ Two years before, in 1818, it had been "with immense deference" that Carlyle had ventured to suggest that the *Edinburgh's* estimate of Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, as pronounced in an article by Jeffrey, was "somewhat

¹¹ Cf. *Reminiscences*, ed. Froude, p. 176, where Carlyle writes that he "carefully read, judged of, and elaborately dictated a candid account and condemnation of, or modestly firm contradiction of" Pictet's book.

¹² Cf. H. T. Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from His Correspondence*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1852), I, 419.

¹³ "Letters to a Fellow Student," *Fortnightly Review*, CI (April, 1914), 632.

¹⁴ *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, p. 146.

¹⁵ Cf. Moncure D. Conway, *Thomas Carlyle* (New York, 1881), pp. 160-61.

too high."¹⁶ Five years later, in 1825, Carlyle still considered Jeffrey the best of the critics writing in the reviews.¹⁷

Any conclusion drawn from the preceding considerations must remain couched, at least for the time being, in terms of inferential probability. The Pictet manuscript that Carlyle left at the home of the "great editor" suffered a "form of catastrophe more complete" than even he had anticipated: there was "no answer," "absolutely no notice taken," "no return of MS."¹⁸ Nor, to date, has any copy of the article appeared in print, or been listed among Carlyleana. For that matter, it is very doubtful if there ever was a copy of the article additional to the vanished copy submitted to Jeffrey. Carlyle tells us that, after he had "carefully read, and judged of" the Pictet treatise, he "dictated" his critique to his "amanuensis."¹⁹ This dictation may have been from a complete draft in Carlyle's own hand; or it may have been orally shaped from mere notes. At any rate, to the best of my knowledge, not even a set of notes for the article has as yet been recorded.

It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that, in addition to other motivating circumstances, it was Jeffrey's early review on Pictet that probably stimulated Carlyle to use this foreign celebrity's inconsequential book on gravitation in much the same censorious way as, sixteen years before, the editor of the *Edinburgh* had himself used this personage's sentimental *Voyage de Trois Mois en Angleterre, en Écosse, et en Irlande*.²⁰

Massachusetts State College

¹⁶ *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, p. 73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 337, letter to James Johnstone, Oct. 26, 1825.

¹⁸ *Reminiscences*, ed. Froude, p. 177.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁰ For that matter, Carlyle's article on Joanna Baillie's *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters*, which appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review* for October, 1821—almost two years after the composition of his Pictet critique—suggests persisting critical affiliations between Carlyle and Jeffrey. Thus, where Jeffrey, in one of his three articles on Joanna Baillie (for the authorship of these three articles, cf. Cockburn, *op. cit.*, I, 419, 420, 422), praises this writer for transfusing through her compositions a spirit of "indulgent and vigilant affection for her species," and a goodness both "magnanimous and practical" (*Edinburgh Review*, XIX [Feb., 1812], 273), Carlyle similarly comments that her poetry "moves calmly and steadily along in cheerful comeliness, and the heart is better for it" (*Collectanea: Thomas Carlyle; 1821-1855*, ed. Samuel Arthur Jones [Canton, Pa., 1903], p. 24). An even closer parallel is to be found in what Carlyle and Jeffrey single out as the fundamental deficiency of Miss Baillie's characters. Contrasting her characters with those of Shakespeare and of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jeffrey complains that they "are evidently mere generalisations of a few obvious and familiar attributes—mere theoretical personages, compounded systematically out of a certain assemblage of qualities supposed to be striking or dramatic, without giving us the impression of there being any actual individual to whom they belong, and whose existence might be conceived as distinct from these qualities" (*Edinburgh*

Review, XIX, 267). Carlyle voices a similar complaint. Joanna Baillie, he asserts, cannot be compared with the older dramatists. Her performances, he writes, "have too much the appearance of forethought and plan to pass for any relatives of nature." He then goes on to observe that her project of producing two plays, a tragedy and a comedy, on each of the passions, has tended "to render her characters too abstract and uncompounded to excite much interest" (*Collectanea*, pp. 20-21). By way of contrast, it is interesting to note that a reviewer in the *Edinburgh Monthly* had tried to account for the inferiority of Miss Baillie's plays to those of the great Elizabethans, by emphasizing the fastidiousness—in his opinion natural to women—which he regarded as characteristic of her productions (V [April, 1821], 475).

MARY SHELLEY IN HER LETTERS

By THEODORE G. EHRSAM

Shelley's letters have for years been a rich source for biography, but it was not until the production of the Julian Edition that there was what might be called a standard edition. For the letters of his second wife, the former Mary Godwin, scholars found it necessary to go to a number of books, inconveniently or widely scattered. Even then, many of these letters were incomplete or incorrectly printed, and though Mary herself might not seem to merit more care than had previously been lavished on her letters, they promised to be of value in shedding more light, however faint, on the figure of Shelley himself.

This need for a gathering together in one place of Mary Shelley's letters has at last been recognized.¹ The question that comes to mind at once is how well the tasks of collecting and editing have been performed.

In this, the first attempt to collect all the available letters of Mary Shelley, Professor Jones, as a result of extensive research, has assigned numbers to 705 such letters, though he prints not quite that many.

For most of the letters here published, the editor indicates the addressee, the place from which written, the date, the address, the postmarks, the location of the original, its physical description, its previous appearances in print, and the source of the text. In addition there are six appendices: "Other Mary Shelley Letters," "Mary Shelley, John Howard Payne and Washington Irving," "Mary Shelley's Second Defense of Velluti," "Mary Shelley's Last Illness and Death," "Owners of the Original Letters," and "Table of Correspondents." An index completes the two volumes, which are well printed and sturdily bound.

The editor has supplied many explanatory footnotes throughout, many of them scholarly, and all useful to the reader. It must be emphasized, too, that the editor has gone to the original text—where possible—with better results than could have been obtained had he relied on copies only. Naturally, in some instances Professor Jones could not work with the letters themselves, but only with photostats of them. Perhaps this fact may explain one of the serious errors he has made.

Letters 623, 624, and 628, all to Thomas Hookham, consist of two four-page folders each. In printing them Professor Jones has mis-

¹ *The Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, collected and edited by Frederick L. Jones (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 2 volumes.

matched the folders; that is, the first folder of Letter 623, ending with the words "a dozen wd" (Vol. II, p. 266), is matched with what should be the second folder of Letter 624. Likewise, the last folder of Letter 624, beginning "*mine by law*" (p. 267), should have been printed as the end of Letter 628 (p. 270). Finally, the ending of Letter 628, beginning with the word "enough" (p. 270), should have been attached to the first folder of Letter 623 (the editor omitted the word "be" clearly visible in the manuscript; the correct complete sentence should read: ". . . for the rest a pound a dozen wd be enough"). Obviously the texts of these three letters are actually unintelligible, for letters cannot thus be haphazardly split and mixed if clarity is to be the result.

But equally important is the order in which these letters have been printed. As Professor Jones admits concerning the relations between Mary and the forger Byron (p. 263): "The letters printed here lack much of giving a full and clear account of these transactions. . . ." How can anyone understand a series of letters which have been thus misprinted?

Since the second folder of Letter 623 gives merely the day "Friday," the editor has no right to insert as a conjectural date—without question marks—"October 31, 1845"; there is no indication that the letter was written in October, that it was the 31st, or that it was 1845. On the contrary, the original manuscript has a date in pencil on page one: "Feb 28/46." As the editor points out in a footnote to Letter 638 (p. 284), similarly marked, this penciled date must refer to the "postmark on the now lost envelope." The 28th of February, 1846, was a Saturday, which could have been the date of the postmark, and the "Friday" date then becomes "February 27, 1846."

In a like fashion, Letter 624, dated "Putney Friday Evg," was very likely written on the same day; but the present order of the other letters in this series must be changed.²

Conjectural dating, again without question marks, in Letter 669 comes out of what appears to be solid, unimpeachable scholarship. At the base of page 308 there is a correct footnote indicating that the *Examiner* for August 21, 1847, carried an advertisement of Medwin's *Life of Shelley*. This footnote is in explanation of Mary's word in a letter above it: "Till I saw the book advertized in the *Examiner* the next day. . . ." Since the manuscript of Letter 669 is dated "Friday Mg." Professor Jones assigned the date "[August 27,

²Space limitations forbid the elaborate arguments necessary to put each letter in its correct order, but I should like to indicate what appears to be a logical sequence of these letters. The two completely dated ones, 621 and 622, are where they belong; they should be followed by letters in this order: 628, 627, 623, 624, 626, 625. The three other letters on the same subject should be arranged: 653, 651, 652. For a full discussion of this involved subject, see Robert M. Smith *et al.*, *The Shelley Legend* (New York, 1945).

1847],” the first Friday after August 21, when the advertisement appeared.

This seems very good, except that the publisher Newby also advertised this book in the *Examiner* on five other dates in 1847: once before August 21, and four times thereafter! The first advertisement was in the *Examiner* for July 10, 1847 (p. 448):

Mr. Newby's New Works by Popular Authors

1. *Life of Shelley* by Captain Medwin, Author of
'Conversations With Lord Byron,' &c. Just ready,
in 2 vols.

Since Mary pleads with Hunt to prevent the book's being published: “. . . if the publication could be wholly prevented . . .,” and since the book was published in August,³ this letter could not have been written on the date assigned by the editor. It was very likely written in July (the 16th, 23rd, or 30th) and probably early in that month, but after the 10th, when Mary first saw the advertisement.

Because Professor Jones has pushed Letter 669 to a date so late in August, he must date 671 still later: “[?September 2, 1847].” But reference to Letter 670, postmarked August 31, 1847, indicates that Mary had been in London at least since the preceding Tuesday, the 24th. Since she claims that Brighton was bad for her nerves, she would not likely return there at once. Thus 671, written from Brighton, must be dated no later than August 19 (or the 12th, 5th, or July 29, etc.). Hence, because Professor Jones assigns a wrong date to one letter (669) he is forced to give another incorrect date to a letter which follows (671), though he this time made use of the question mark.

Frequently the editor gives no reason for his conjectural dating without question marks, as witness Letter 137, written from Pisa, postmarked in England April 27, 1822; Professor Jones gives the date as “[April 10, 1822].” Mary's first words in this letter: “Shelley sends the enclosed order on Brooks . . .” refer to Shelley's check or draft which reads:

Pisa, April 12, 1822

Gentlemen

Be so good as to pay Mr. Leigh Hunt, or his order the amount of my quarter's income, received on Lady Day

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen

Your obedient Servant

Percy Bysshe Shelley⁴

Messrs Brookes & Co

Chancery Lane

£ 220. 0. 0

Letter 137, therefore, must be dated no earlier than April 12.

³ *Publishers' Circular & Booksellers' Record* lists Medwin's volumes as No. 821 of their August, 1847, publications.

Here a demurrer should be entered against the prefatory statement by the editor (p. vi): ". . . a question mark should probably have been affixed to many dates that appear to have been ascertained definitely." The reader should by this be warned to scrutinize carefully before he accepts these conjectural dates unless a postmark or other unmistakable clue, internal or otherwise, is given. Professor Jones has truly been too chary of question marks, though he readily assails the editor of *The Romance of Mary W. Shelley*—because "Many of the letters are improperly dated . . ." (II, 353).

When the editor has gone to auction catalogues, he sometimes prints less of the text than is to be found in these sources. Letter 119, for example, omits a whole sentence which was in the catalogue: "How are the Lambs & other common friends?" and lacks the important catalogue comment that Mary was submitting an article for possible inclusion in Hunt's *Indicator*. A like error is made in Letter 152, where another sentence has been deleted by the editor: "Lord Byron's rheumatism has left him, but has left him . . . very bilious, cross, and sleepy . . ." which is printed in the catalogue referred to as the source.

Occasionally, when the original manuscript has not been traced, the editor might have improved his incomplete texts by reference to readily available auction catalogues. Thus, Letter 151 is drawn wholly from Peacock's *Memoirs of Shelley*, where it is not complete. The record of the sale of the letter at Sotheby's has a comment:

Lord Byron and all her friends advised her not to return to England, suggests that Peacock & Byron should apply to Sir Timothy Shelley for an allowance for her.

and a direct quotation from the letter:

. . . Lord Byron is very kind to me, promises to do his duty as executor, & really appears interested in my fate. . . . In the mean time [I] remain here with the Hunts, spending little and passing the miserable hours as I can; better here than in England. . . .⁵

The same kind of omission is made in another letter, 523; in a catalogue is this quotation:

I am not in very good spirits now and the French are out of humour with us, still if you have any agreeable French acquaintances send them to me.⁶

which Jones omits; nor in the same letter does he print this:

Do not think me ungrateful, nor by any means unregardful of the merits of England. I never had a friend that was not English. Still she has been a stepmother to me, and I like her best at a distance.⁷

⁵ Catalogue of a sale at Sotheby's, December 4-5, 1921, item 362, p. 63. Also in *First Editions, Autographs, etc.*, sold at the American Art Association Anderson Galleries, April 14-15, 1937, item 344, p. 162; sold for \$230.

⁶ Catalogue of a sale at Sotheby's, April 8, 1935, item 211, p. 35.

⁷ Catalogue of a sale at Sotheby's, December 18-20, 1905, item 758, p. 99.

⁸ H. B. Smith, *A Sentimental Library* (1914), p. 194.

For three letters which Professor Jones has marked "Not traced," we should perhaps here indicate sales in which they appeared. Thus Letters 185 and 191 both appeared in a sale at Sotheby's on April 8, 1935. Likewise, Letter 283 was sold at Sotheby's, May 30, 1907 (p. 47, item 207, listed as 3 pages octavo).

Now must come the task of reckoning the letters which have been omitted altogether. Letter 323, which is incorrectly listed as "Unprinted and Unpublished," was available in 1858 in Cyrus Redding's *Fifty Years' Recollections, Literary and Personal*, II, 365. In the same place (II, 364) there is a letter from Mary to Redding printed in full—which is lacking in the present edition.

One then makes the astounding discovery that Professor Jones has not consulted the catalogues of such outstanding collections as those of Charles Frederickson, Alfred Morrison, H. B. Smith, H. Buxton Forman, Jerome Kern, Major W. Van R. Whitall, or Howard J. Sachs.* One of Mary's letters to Moxon appeared in *five* separate sales catalogues (William Ellis Wall, Forman, Kern, Whitall, and Sachs) but is not in Professor Jones's edition!

The very first letter written by Mary to Shelley after their marriage, the famous letter of January 17, 1817, is carefully listed by the editor as item 1 on page 343 (Vol. II) under the caption "Other Mary Shelley Letters." Yet this letter was printed twice, both in the Frederickson catalogue (p. 231, item 2374) and in H. B. Smith's *A Sentimental Library* (p. 176). Over two hundred words of this letter were available from these sources, but this edition, bringing "together in convenient form all the known letters of Mary Shelley available for publication," has no more than a 2½-line description of the letter.

There are many other Mary Shelley letters missing from this edition, some of which may for convenience be tabulated here:

- Bagni di Lucca, June 14, 1818, to [?], 1¼ pp. 4to.
- 14 Speldhurst Street, November 15 [1823], to Charles Ollier, 1 p. 8vo.
- Kentish Town, [?December] 1825, to Charles Ollier, 2 pp. 8vo.
- Kentish Town, July 1 [1826], to Miss Charlotte Figge, 1½ pp. 8vo.
- 2, Milbury Terrace, Dorset Square [?September, 1833?], to Lady Manners-Sutton, 1 p. 8vo.
- 41 Park Street, March 4, 1836, to Mr. Spottiswoode, 1¼ pp. 4to.
- London, March 21 [watermarked 1836], [? to Charles Ollier ?], 1 p. 4to. (Listed, II, 344, no. 20.)
- 4 Lower Belgrave Street [c. May–October, 1836?], to Josiah Wedgwood, 3 pp. 12mo.
- 41 Park Street, December, 1838, to Edward Moxon, 4 pp. 8vo.
- Lyons, October 6, 1840, to Miss Marianna Hammond, 3 pp. 4to.

* The reference to the Whitall sale by Professor Jones (II, 345) does not mean that he has taken from that catalogue the materials which were available.

Putney, November 11 [1840?], to Edward Moxon, 4 pp. 8vo.
 Florence, December 25 [1842], to William Charles Macready,
 3 pp. 8vo.

Putney, December 31 [1847?], to Miss Marianna Hammond, 9 pp.
 12mo.

Putney, July 2 [?], (apparently to an Italian), 2 pp. 8vo. (Listed,
 II, 345, no. 26.)

These letters are all listed and are quoted from (some at great length, others completely) in readily accessible English and American auction catalogues. Four of the correspondents given above (J. Wedgwood, Spottiswoode, Miss Charlotte Figge, and W. C. Macready) are not represented by a single letter in the present edition.

The following mistakes were observed:

LETTER	VOL.	PAGE	ERROR	CORRECTION
65	I	66, n. 7	1919	1819
119	I	139	sorry	worry
152	I	197	is well	is quite well
200	I	279	Sheldhurst	Speldhurst
254	I	337	you suppose	I suppose
255	I	338	amused	annoyed
271	I	352	27 Arundel St	29 Arundel St
323	II	10	Pavis	Davis
543	II	179	not enjoy	not much enjoy
560	II	200	But now	But how
	II	264	from TH.	from Mr.
576	II	218	feel assumed	feel assured
624	II	267	a payment on	a fragment of
626	II	268	a £1 [a] piece	a £1 price
	II	283, n. 1	<i>Stories of the</i>	<i>Stories from</i>
	II	289 n.	Gautley	Cautley
651	II	294	but of	for of
651	II	295	thing [is] will he avoid	thing will be to avoid
653	II	296	<i>many more others</i>	<i>many more letters</i>

Precisely nine of these errors are failures to read manuscript correctly. In Letter 624 (II, 267) the editor did not print the 5½ lines stricken out, lines which are easily deciphered. A word which he cannot read in Letter 623 is clearly "point." We are thus reluctantly forced to conclude that, though the text is suitable for the general reader, the scholar will hesitate before he will on any *crucial* matters⁹ rely on Professor Jones's ability to read Mary Shelley's handwriting correctly.

Much labor has gone into these volumes, and they represent a good start in the field. But more care must be lavished and many other letters included before we come near to having *the* definitive edition.

School of Commerce, New York University

⁹ The editor's misdatings, mismatchings, and misreadings in Letters 623 through 628, the wrong readings in Holcroft's letter (II, 264) and in Letter 651, plus the incorrect dating of Letter 653—these contribute to a masterly misrepresentation of the G. Byron-Mary relationship.

WASHINGTON IRVING: A REVALUATION

By GEORGE SNELL

Poe remarked, in 1838, "Irving is much overrated, and a nice distinction might be drawn between his just and his surreptitious and adventitious reputation—between what is due to the pioneer solely, and what to the writer." We can still agree to that; but the truth is, Irving exerted a marked influence on other American writers of his time, some of whom, greater than himself, in turn handed on the peculiar qualities first adumbrated in his writing. For this reason it is quite possible to say that Irving unconsciously shaped a principal current in American fiction, whatever may be the relative unimportance of his own work.

Irving's derivations are fairly explicit. That he was a passionate Anglophile has been repeatedly pointed out, and indeed he admitted it. After paying brief tribute to his own land, "The Author's Account of Himself" in the *Sketch Book* continues:

But Europe held forth the charms of storied and poetical association. There were to be seen the masterpieces of art, the refinements of highly-cultivated society, the quaint peculiarities of ancient and local custom. My native country was full of youthful promise; Europe was rich in the accumulated treasures of age. . . . I longed to wander over the scenes of renowned achievement—to tread, as it were, in the footsteps of antiquity—to loiter about the ruined castle—to meditate on the falling tower—to escape, in short, from the commonplace realities of the present, and lose myself among the shadowy grandeurs of the past.

The tone is sufficiently like that of the youthful Henry James to be remarkable; but Irving ends with a characteristic humorous twist: "I will visit this land of wonders, thought I, and see the gigantic race from which I have degenerated."

For Irving the appeal of the "Old Home" was entirely romantic. It provided that established traditionalism which, he thought, alone formed the requisite backdrop for true literature. Henry James reacted similarly in part, but James was reacting equally to a stifled unrest in the arid commercialism of America, a dissatisfaction Irving never acutely felt. But however romantic Irving may have been in his original aspirations toward Europe, he managed to set down a not unrealistic picture of it. Some of the best pages of the *Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall* are those in which romantic predisposition dissipates and he tells of things as he actually saw them. If he had done so oftener, the books would have been better; but it is impossible to doubt that his intention was realistic even if his disposition was incorrigibly romantic.

In point of time, Irving is of course the best-known progenitor of all American fiction; and it is a fact that though Joseph Dennie, Brockden Brown, and other Americans had essayed to produce "literature," Irving alone among these pioneers succeeded in gaining the ear of the world and keeping it. When, in 1809, the *History of New York* appeared, it was evident that this "savage from barbarous America" could write; even his English compeers conceded that. The famous felicity of style (the result of a rigorous apprenticeship in his earlier years) immediately invited comparison with Addison and Goldsmith. But the temper of the writing was neither classical nor neo-classical, but romantic. If Irving's prose read like Cowper's or Crabbe's, its content conjured up Byron, Scott, and Moore. Diedrich Knickerbocker's whimsy and his strictly American themes gave the *History of New York* a strange new savor, but the voice was always familiar; it had the well-tempered, quietly paced, above all urbane rhythm of the eighteenth-century masters and could not fail to charm the ears of Britons. Their delight was infectious: it took only that imprimatur to persuade Americans they had at last produced a man of letters.

But between the publication of Knickerbocker and the *Sketch Book* lay an interval of ten years. It was as a man of 36 that Irving set out to prove whether he was capable of earning a reputation and a living as a writer. Shortly after the *History of New York* appeared, he made his second and formative pilgrimage to the land of his forebears, and he stayed seventeen years. The immediate excuse for setting sail was not to become a writer, but to assist in his brothers' business enterprises. When those failed, he stayed on, disclosing his real ambition; but the excuse had been an acceptable one. "Thus Irving," says his biographer, "unlike Henry James, who saw this type of conflict so clearly, escaped lasting animus from Americans. Nor was he thwarted by Philistia, as was his greater countryman, Poe—and, perhaps, Whitman and Mark Twain."¹ If there was any feeling against the youthful author of the *Salmagundi Papers* (which had had only a local New York reputation) and of the *History of New York*, it was quickly dispelled in the blaze of glory that soon surrounded the writer of the *Sketch Book*. Appearing in 1819, this collection of essays and short stories made an instant and favorable impression. Reading them today, we find it difficult to account for the almost hysterical enthusiasm that greeted them; but they are almost the sole basis for Irving's fame.

It is generally thought that the *Sketch Book* is the ultimate expression of Irving's romanticism; but actually this book shows how far Irving had gone along the road to an attenuated realism that found more artistic expression in the work of Hawthorne. What he

¹ Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (Oxford University Press, 1935).

was attempting, he says, was a sketch of scenes and manners similar to the work in a different medium by his friend Leslie, whose closely worked Dutch miniatures were so popular. Geoffrey Crayon was to paint his times in words, mixing his colors as assiduously and working in details with the indefatigable patience of a water colorist sketching a baroque interior. Geoffrey Crayon's *feeling* toward his subject was unmitigatedly romantic. He was often deluded by surface appearances; he stood in awe of many commonplaces in English life; he venerated customs that, as an American and presumably a democrat, ought to have occasioned his censure. But Geoffrey Crayon *approached* his material with only a half-hearted romanticism. With his eyes fixed on the central object, he described what appeared before him, though his vision was impaired by the haze of supposed romance that dimmed all he saw. This pilgrim was more reverent than passionate. The interpretative faculty was usually absent, but when present, missed the logical interpretation. Such essays as "The Wife," "The Broken Heart," and "The Pride of the Village" are weakly inapposite since they are vitiated by this veneration for what was "England" simply because it was *English*. But those stories which hark back to the American scene, such as "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," have their moments of vigor and memorability, and are of course the most perdurable stuff in the *Sketch Book*. On the other hand, when he was able to find a theme consonant with the nostalgic reverence informing all the English portions of the book (and drenching *Bracebridge Hall* to the drowning point), he rose to adequate expression. "Stratford-on-Avon," "The Stage Coach," and "Westminster Abbey" are quite acceptable in the vein of the English village school, and if they haven't the magic of Lamb or the majesty of Addison, they are remarkably agreeable and somewhat astonishing as productions of a mere visitor.

It is, however, the American stories that represent Irving at his best. He actually spent much time among the country people of New York state; and when he drew upon his observation, and not upon romantic preconceptions or upon his reading, he was most successful both in delineating character and approaching that romantic realism which became a broad stream in American fiction after him. What he says of Diedrich Knickerbocker is, of course, self-revelation:

His historical researches, however, did not lie so much among books as among men; for the former are lamentably scanty on his favorite topics; whereas he found the old burghers, and still more their wives, rich in that legendary lore, so invaluable to true history. Whenever, therefore, he happened upon a genuine Dutch family, snugly shut up in its low-roofed farmhouse, under a spreading sycamore, he looked upon it as a little clasped volume of black-letter, and studied it with the zeal of a book-worm.

It must be admitted, though, that his studies yielded little in the way of psychological insight. They did produce a gallery of striking types seen exteriorly: Rip Van Winkle, his wife, Ichabod Crane, Brom Bones, Farmer Van Tassel, and old Baron Katzenellenbogen. Ichabod Crane is the trusty forerunner of a myriad scapegraces in our literature; and not so much because we know anything about what went on within the poor pedagogue's psyche, as because we know for a fact what he looked like and what happened to him. Irving saw clearly the external lineaments; but the mind's labyrinth and the heart's paradoxes were a closed book to him. Geoffrey Crayon painted what he saw; like the Dutch miniature colorists, he wished to portray nothing more. And it would be difficult to find, even in the work of those who succeeded Irving and widely extended his tendencies, more striking caricatures than those of Rip and Ichabod.

The telling effect of "Sleepy Hollow," "Rip Van Winkle," and "The Spectre Bridegroom" arises from the fact that the legendary is so firmly interwoven with solid realism. Here again is foreshadowed what might be better done by the hand of a Hawthorne. Acting on this principle, Irving soundly conceived his system of inducing a suspension of disbelief. "Sleepy Hollow" is firmly grounded in the everyday, and when the supernatural appears, it gains our whole acceptance. Whether this was Irving's conscious intention is questionable; but it was a wholly successful rule. Doubtless his ill-defined inclination toward realism tended to bring about the happy result; and in fact there is a nice correspondence between the technique of the Irving short story and his general philosophy of composition which tempts one to emphasize it unduly.

"The Spectre Bridegroom" memorably synthesizes these elements of the legendary and the real. The old aunts who flutter about the little baroness; Baron Katzenellenbogen; his horde of poor relatives; the personality of the castle itself—these are struck off with very fine effect. Sagacity and sly wit characterize many passages. Pungently Irving says that the old women,

having been great flirts and coquettes in their younger days, were admirably calculated to be vigilant guardians and strict censors of the conduct of their niece; for there is no duenna so rigidly prudent, and inexorably decorous, as a superannuated coquette.

After the spectre of the baroness' lover has made its appearance below the bedroom window, and the girl has secured her aunt's agreement not to tell of it, Irving whimsically remarks:

How long the good old lady would have observed this promise is uncertain, for she dearly loved to talk of the marvellous, and there is a triumph in being the first to tell a frightful story; it is, however, still quoted in the neighborhood, as a memorable instance of female secrecy, that she kept it to herself for a whole week.

On the whole the *Sketch Book* proved to be inspiring for diverse American writers. The effect was not immediately apparent, and it was probably a diffuse stimulation, arising more from Irving's manner than from his content. The gentlemanly essay, the Christmas book, the modest homily, were still to be popular for many years; but the *Sketch Book's* chief influence upon the imagination of other writers was its style. Whittier, as a young aspirant in letters, wrote to Mrs. Sigourney in 1832, "The style I have adopted is about halfway between the abruptness of Laurence Sterne and the smooth gracefulness of W. Irving. I may fail,—indeed, I suspect I shall,—but I have more philosophy than poetry in my composition . . .," and Lowell, in one of his last speeches, recalled that when he

was beginning life, as it is called . . . the question of 'Who reads an American book?' still roused in the not too numerous cultivated class among us a feeling of resentment and helpless anger . . . [yet] we had Irving, who after humorously satirising the poverty of our annals in his 'Knickerbocker,' forced to feel the pensive beauty of what is ancient by the painful absence of it, first tried to create an artificial antiquity as a substitute, and then sought in the old world a kindlier atmosphere and themes more sympathetic with the dainty and carefully shaded phrase he loved. He first taught us the ever-living charm of style, most invaluable and most difficult of lessons. Almost wholly English, he is yet our earliest classic. . . .

Poe, Hawthorne, Prescott, Longfellow, and Holmes deferentially remarked the debt American literature owed to Irving, though Hawthorne alone, according to internal evidence, inherited to any striking degree his method and matter. As a young man shut up in his dark Salem chamber, Hawthorne studiously emulated the Irving style, and it is incredible that the peculiar charm of the mythlike and legendary in "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Spectre Bridegroom" did not enormously stimulate the author of "The Great Stone Face" and "Young Goodman Brown." Frequently overt allusions to Irving occur in Hawthorne's writings; and there is the letter accompanying a presentation copy of *The Blithedale Romance*, an occasion which, the greater writer gracefully says,

affords me—and I ask no more—an opportunity of expressing the affectionate admiration which I have felt so long; a feeling, by the way, common to all our countrymen, in reference to Washington Irving, and which, I think, you can hardly appreciate, because there is no writer with the qualities to awaken in yourself precisely the same intellectual and heart-felt recognition.

The most notable and directly tendentious effect of the *Sketch Book* upon a succeeding American work is observable in Longfellow's *Outre Mer*, where unmistakable correspondences occur which suggest that more than a few of Poe's famous allegations concerning Longfellow's plagiarism are not wholly unfounded. *Outre Mer* is of course forgotten today, but it had a vogue almost as great in its time as that of the *Sketch Book*.

Three years after the *Sketch Book* appeared, Irving brought out a further collection in similar vein, *Bracebridge Hall*, a pale imitation of its predecessor; and while it in turn stimulated a number of imitations (principally J. P. Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*), it added nothing to his reputation. In fact, the high-water mark of Irving's career had already been reached; nothing he did afterward measured up to the relatively low standard of the *Sketch Book*. The worst aspects of that work were multiplied in *Bracebridge Hall*, because in it Irving forsook almost wholly his former reliance on observation and personal experience, and went to books for inspiration. *Bracebridge Hall* is what Samuel Rogers called (though he applied the description even to the *Sketch Book*), "Addison and water."

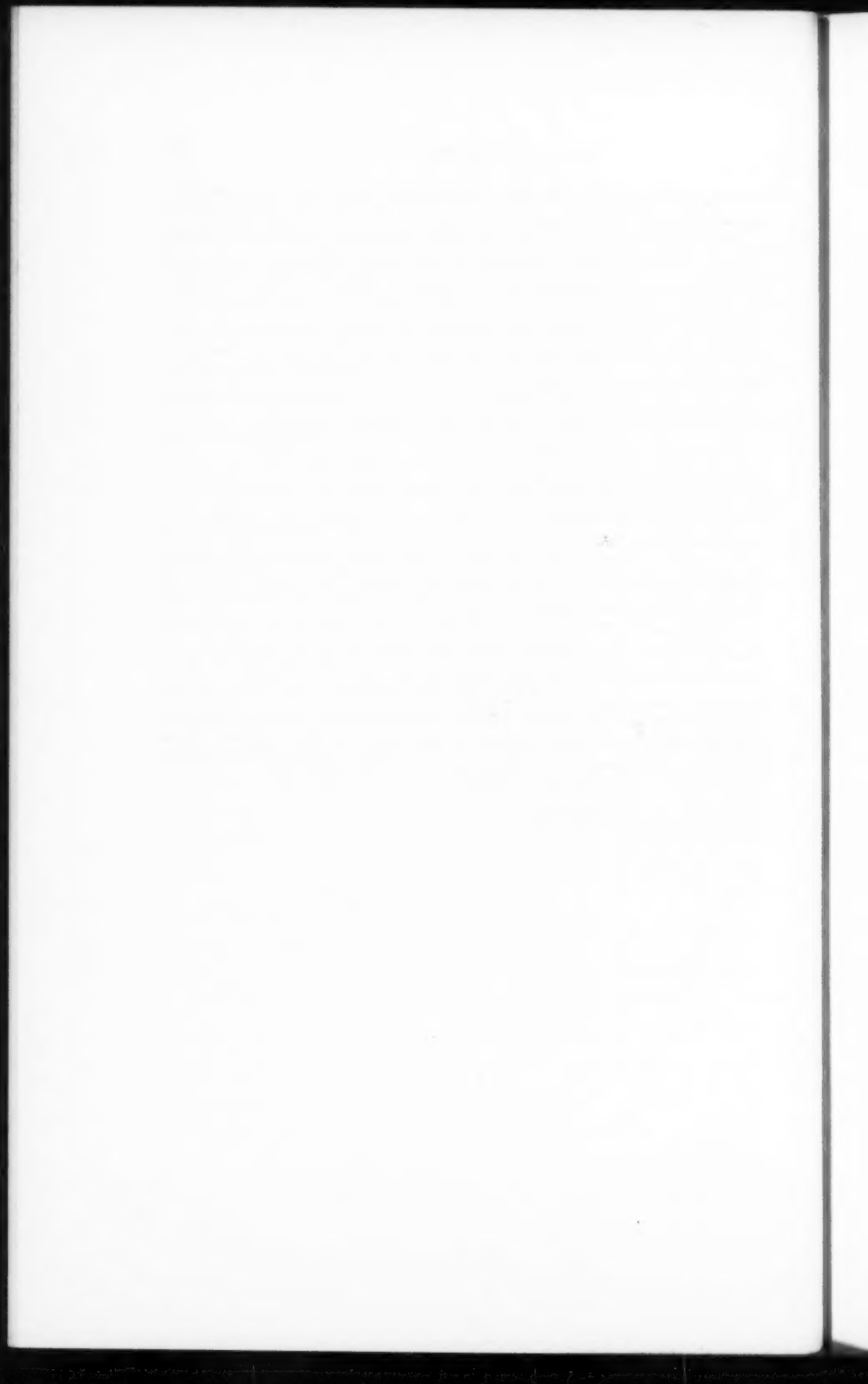
On the heels of *Bracebridge Hall* came *Tales of a Traveller*, a compound of Germanic legends rewritten and embellished but scarcely improved. Even the critics who had been most enthusiastic about the *Sketch Book* were disappointed. Yet Irving managed to retrieve his dwindling reputation by going to Spain, a country just then exciting the curiosity of England and America, and purloining from the historian Navarrete a life of Columbus. Irving's plagiarism of this work has been a scandal among literary historians for many years; but of course his contemporaries were largely unaware of the real authorship of the *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, and it reestablished Irving for the time as a writer, though some deplored his forsaking fantasy and fiction for the sober matter of history. We are no longer impressed by this aspect of his work; the *Columbus*, *Granada*, *Tour on the Prairies*, *Astoria*, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, and *Life of George Washington* all betray the hand of the slipshod craftsman. After the *Sketch Book* the only works worth consideration are the *Tales of the Alhambra* and the *Life of Goldsmith*, with perhaps a glance at *Wolfert's Roost*, which was actually a product of Irving's earlier period, being a collection of Crayon essays originally published in magazines.

The *Alhambra* has quality, because in it Irving returned to his practice of combining that measure of realism found in the best parts of the *Sketch Book* with the romantic interest in the legendary. A revealing letter of 1857 reinforces the internal evidence of the book: "The account of my midnight rambles about the old palace is literally true. . . . Every thing in the work relating to myself and to the actual inhabitants of the Alhambra is unexaggerated fact: it was only in the legends that I indulged in *romancing*." However, the legends themselves are buttressed by settings with a sound basis in reality and contain vignettes of Spanish life equally as truthful as those pretending to represent the "actual inhabitants of the Alhambra." "The Legend of the Moor's Legacy" and "The Legend of the Rose of the Alhambra" are in the vein of Irving's best tales, a re-

working of the same mine that produced his other and more famous stories. The *Alhambra* has a sort of unity that even the *Sketch Book* lacked, achieved by the simple device of encompassing all the fantasy and observation within the walls of the great palace. On the other hand there is a monotony which, apart from the frequent sentimentalism, vitiates our interest in the work, as it lies outside the taste of our time. This latter criticism, the matter of sentimentality, can of course be levied against the whole of Irving's work; but once we concede the conventions of his time and accept the limitations of early nineteenth-century American taste, it is possible to appreciate the excellences that first elevated Irving in critical esteem.

The last of Irving's writings with any claim to "literature" is the *Life of Goldsmith*, a superficial work as biography, but one which exhibits in all their bloom his felicities of language and softness of tone. Largely compounded of excerpts from Boswell and built upon the researches of two earlier biographers, Pryor and Forster, it was by no means as ambitious a project as the *Life of George Washington* with which Irving closed his career; but it has simplicity and a certain eighteenth-century charm. Still, the only productions that have real currency today are the essays and stories in the *Sketch Book*. If they did nothing more than bring to a higher degree of development the tale of the miraculous, and foreshadow a more successful turning toward England, the spiritual home of such orphans of tradition as Henry James, they performed a vital service to our literature. It is not so much to them that we owe respect but to what they pioneered: indicating pathways that might be followed by more highly endowed successors.

San Francisco, California



A NOTE ON "MY LADY" OF *MODERN LOVE*

By WILLIAM T. GOING

Meredith's critics and biographers have, in general, ignored or overstated the problem of identifying the dramatis personae of his longest poetical work, *Modern Love*. The problem, to say the least, is a tantalizing one, because, without much doubt, the poet is taking the reader into his confidence—or rather dragging him into an unpleasant drawing-room confessional, as the late Mr. Quiller-Couch insisted—and relating in dramatic lyrics the tragedy of his first marriage. In speaking of these years his son William writes:

Two highly strung temperaments—man and wife—each imaginative, emotional, quick to anger, cuttingly satirical in dispute, each an incomparable wielder of the rapier of ridicule, could not find domestic content within the narrow bounds of poverty and lodgings.¹

With the possible exception of the word *poverty* this sentence might well serve as a statement of the theme of *Modern Love*.

Typical of the attitude of the earlier critics is this sentence of Hammerton: "There is the poignancy of a personal sorrow in some lines of 'Modern Love'; though in no sense else do I suggest that we may look into that wonderful revelation of 'tragic life' for any confession bearing upon the poet's own experience."² Almost equally annoying for what it leaves unsaid is this paragraph of Priestley:

He was always reticent on the subject of this tragic marriage. . . . Once more it is to his work that we must turn if we wish to learn more; Meredith the poet opened his heart when Meredith the man closed his lips; and there, in 'Modern Love,' written not long after the death of Mrs. Meredith, is not a little of his private history. The tragedy compelled him to search his memory and mind and heart, and the result of this self-examination (with certain allowances for drama) may be found in that subtly introspective, almost self-torturing poem.³

After these two circumlocutions it is somewhat disturbing to come upon this rather bald statement of Sencourt, which appears in the midst of a chapter on *Evan Harrington*: "For five years she [Janet Duff Gordon] was, next to Arthur, the person who meant most to him, and with whom he associated his choicest words of praise and passion. None other than she can be the 'lady' of *Modern Love*."⁴

¹ *The Letters of George Meredith: Collected and Edited by His Son* (London, 1912), I, 5.

² J. A. Hammerton, *George Meredith: His Life and Art in Anecdote and Criticism* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 7.

³ J. B. Priestley, *George Meredith*, English Men of Letters Series (New York, 1926), p. 17.

⁴ R. E. Sencourt, *The Life of George Meredith* (New York, 1929), p. 109.

Of the four chief dramatis personae of *Modern Love* three may be readily identified. George Meredith and his wife Mary Ellen Nicolls are, of course, the most important "characters." They are the husband and wife, the "He"-and-"I"'s and "Madam." Their happiness is all behind them when the poem opens; their marriage is on the reefs of disaster. "Each wishes for the sword that severs all," and each has in a thousand ways—by sins of omission and commission—estranged the other. Madam's lover, "the man" (first mentioned in Sonnet III) whom the husband would crush under heel, is probably Henry Wallis, whose paintings had been admired in the Academy. He had been urging Mary Meredith to elope with him. Playing only a shadowy role in the poem, he is never characterized, but upon his head falls the bitter contempt of the husband.

The fourth person of the sequence is sketched with more fullness. She is introduced in Sonnet XIV as "a gold-haired lady." Throughout the poem this feature is her most often-mentioned physical attribute; in Sonnet XXIX she is the poet's "golden-crowned rose." Besides a character of "large browed steadfastness" she has those rare gifts of beauty, common sense, and wit. If Janet Duff Gordon is "My Lady" of the poem, as Mr. Sencourt maintains,⁶ then even a cursory glance at the dates of the chief events of Meredith's life from 1849 to 1862 reveals the fact that insofar as the biographical significance of the poem is concerned something is surely awry.

After their marriage in 1849 and a sojourn on the Continent, the Merediths settled at the Limes, a boarding-house at Weybridge. Here they came to know the wealthy and socially prominent Duff Gordons, who with their attractive children frequently held open house for the intellectuals of the neighborhood. To little Janet and his own stepdaughter Meredith delighted to read passages from the Arabian Nights tale, *The Shaving of Shagpat*, which he was writing about that time. In 1853, however, the Merediths moved across the Thames to live with Mary Ellen's father, the recently widowed Thomas Love Peacock of Shelleyan fame. And there in June, 1853, their son Arthur Gryffydh was born. By this move the Merediths apparently lost all contact with the Duff Gordons.⁷

It was not until 1859, after his marriage debacle and subsequent dissatisfaction with London lodgings, that Meredith, moving to

⁶ Occasionally "he" may refer to the wife's lover (Sonnet III) or to a friend (Sonnet XXI), but it usually refers to the poet-husband, who speaks of himself in both the first and third persons.

⁷ Meredith's letters and Mrs. Janet Ross's autobiography seem to bear out Mr. Sencourt's belief.

⁸ Of this episode William Meredith writes: "... at Weybridge the Merediths first made the acquaintance of Sir Alexander and Lady Duff Gordon, and their children. . . . When Meredith left the neighborhood his friends lost sight of him. On his return to Esher he found the Duff Gordons settled between Esher and Oxshott. . . ." *Letters*, I, 12.

Esher in Surrey to be near his good friend Capt. Maxse, again saw Janet Duff Gordon, now a young lady just past sixteen.⁸ She was riding one morning to the Esher station when a small boy stumbled and fell in front of her horse. When she took the child home to his father, she was recognized at once. "Oh! my Janet! Don't you know me? I am your Poet!"⁹ exclaimed Meredith.

It was, then, almost a generation that separated My Lady and Madam of *Modern Love*. In real life they could never have known each other as adults, and the dramatic meeting between the two, when they compliment one another on their physical defects, could never have taken place, for Mary Meredith fled to the Continent with Wallis in 1858. (Though she returned to England in 1859, she died in 1861 without ever seeing Meredith again.) The poet-husband could never have written love letters to My Lady in his wife's presence, nor could My Lady have appealed to him to return to his wife. In short, Mary Meredith never knew Janet Duff Gordon except as a child of nine or ten years. It is this fact that Mr. Sencourt fails to make clear.

Modern Love as a literary achievement does not stand or fall by a criterion of biographical truth. Whether the poem is a strictly autobiographical venture or a weaving of half-truths and psychological rationalizations is not a matter of artistic importance. But the reader and critic who search for personal history in the poem must always be aware that all is not strictly chronological fact that meets the eye as such.

It is, therefore, a critical error to conceive of *Modern Love* as a narrative sequence of Meredith's marriage debacle: its causes and results. Those stanzas which portray the intimacies of husband and wife and their bitter, silencing hate for one another may well be autobiographical. There is little reason to believe otherwise. The so-called "philandering episode" (Sonnetts XXVII-XL) with My Lady may mirror the poet's infatuation for the charming Janet whom he had already made the Rose Jocelyn¹⁰ of *Evan Harrington*.¹¹ But juxtaposing these two episodes into a single tragedy is not biographically accurate, just as the ending of the poem is not actually "according to history," for there was really no discovering of Mary Meredith wandering by the seashore, no midnight poisoning-suicide

⁸ *Who's Who* (1926) gives her birth as 1842.

⁹ Janet Ross, *The Fourth Generation* (London, 1912), p. 48.

¹⁰ Could there be any possible connection between the "golden-crowned rose" of the poem and Rose Jocelyn of the novel?

¹¹ Of this period of her life Mrs. Ross writes: "We used to take long walks together. . . . My poet would recite poetry or talk about his novels. I made him write down some of the verses he improvised as we sat among the heather. . . ." Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

in her husband's presence, no momentary reconciliation of peace when they "saw the swallows gathering in the sky."¹²

Just as Meredith used his own experiences over and over again in his novels so in *Modern Love* does he weave his tragic marriage venture with Mary Ellen Nicolls and his pleasant friendship with Janet Duff Gordon into a bitter, dramatic sequence, the incidents of which are partly true and partly fictional, rearranged in time and place, and peopled like the novels with characters drawn chiefly from real life.

University of Alabama

¹² It is well to remember that Meredith was obsessed with the idea that his wife "left him for some . . . altruistic motive" (Meynell's and Cockerell's opinion as recorded in W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries* [New York, 1921], II, 120-21) so that he might be free for another.

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF GEORGE GISSING'S
WORKERS IN THE DAWN ON MAUGHAM'S
OF HUMAN BONDAGE

By H. T. WEBSTER

Somerset Maugham has found material for two of his best novels in the lives of men as famous as himself—Paul Gauguin in *The Moon and Sixpence* and Thomas Hardy in *Cakes and Ale*. This raises the question: could Philip Carey's love for the appalling Mildred in *Of Human Bondage* have been suggested by George Gissing's first marriage, as it is recounted in that author's first novel, *Workers in the Dawn*. By its author's testimonial, *Of Human Bondage* is autobiographical, but Maugham makes it clear in the preface to the later American editions that he transfers some experiences of other people to his protagonist. This, of course, is implicit in the nature of fiction.

There are a number of marked similarities in Gissing's treatment of Arthur Golding's marriage to Carrie Mitchell, and Philip Carey's association with Mildred Rogers. In each book, a sensitive and refined man is drawn against his better judgment into an alliance with an uneducated and utterly worthless woman. Carrie and Mildred alike represent a mental and moral superficiality so great that it becomes the essence of evil. In each book, the woman reappears in the man's life after several betrayals and separations so that she remains a permanent blight on it. Carrie and Mildred similarly degenerate in character from tawdry respectability to prostitution and the extremes of degradation. There are a few circumstantial details common to each novel. Gissing's hero, Arthur Golding, is, like Philip Carey, a sometime art student. Carrie tears up his portrait of his real love, Helen Norman, in a scene that suggests Mildred's later destruction of Philip's pictures. Carrie, like Mildred, is in Gissing's words "suffering from a malady which was the consequence of her dissipated life," when we take leave of her.

But it is not so much the details as the general matters of shaping and narrative value which hint an affinity between *Workers in the Dawn* and *Of Human Bondage*. Of course, the stories are not without dissimilarities. Arthur Golding is held to Carrie by ties of sympathy tinged with Victorian moral earnestness, rather than by the poisoned fascination that Mildred exerts over Philip. As is often true of Gissing's characters, Carrie is reported to us rather than represented three dimensionally like Maugham's Mildred. On the whole, there is a close enough parallel between *Workers in the Dawn* and *Of Human Bondage* to suggest an influence without proving it. Only Mr. Maugham himself could establish this detail in literary history, if indeed he remembers the answer.

Temple University

GEGENWÄRTIGER STAND DER STEHR-FORSCHUNG UND EINIGE IHRER PROBLEME

By F. K. RICHTER

Die jüngeren und jüngsten Dichtergruppen werden wie wohl niemals irgendwelche zuvor, und das hängt natürlich mit dem wachsenden Interesse an Literaturkritik zusammen, von ihrer eigenen Generation besonders interessiert beobachtet und kritisiert. Die drei großen Schlesier Carl und Gerhart Hauptmann, als auch Hermann Stehr, scheinen dabei ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu gewinnen. Die Gerhart Hauptmann-Literatur¹ ist bereits zu einer eigenständigen kleinen Bibliothek angewachsen, und der Dichter hat in Studiendirektor Felix A. Voigt aus Kreuzburg, Oberschlesien, den getreuen Eckermann gefunden, der 1933 sein Amt aufgab, um den Rest seines Lebens dem Studium des Hauptmann'schen Werkes zu widmen. Schon haben sich Früchte gezeitigt, man denke an die Veröffentlichung des "Hirtenliedes"² oder an die treffliche Arbeit über Hauptmanns antikes Lebensgefühl in den *Deutschkundlichen Arbeiten*.³ Als ich einmal meine Freude über die feine Hauptmann-Philologie Dr. Voigt gegenüber zum Ausdruck brachte,—wir hatten eine kleine Besprechung über Otto Ludwigs Einfluß auf den schlesischen Dramatiker, kurz nach der Erscheinung meines Buches über Ludwigs Dramentheorien⁴—da antwortete er: "Aber ich fange doch erst an! Denken Sie, in Agnetendorf liegen ja über achtzig ungedruckte Dramen!" Die Forschung um Carl Hauptmann ist zwar rege gewesen, aber bis zum heutigen Tage ist alles Gesagte, nach dem Urteil des großen Dichterfreundes Will-Erich Peuckert, der selbst ein bedeutender Dichter ist, nur klägliches Stückwerk. Die Arbeit Razingers⁵ über Carl Hauptmann wird von Peuckert, dem übrigens der Nachlaß des Dichters zur Verwaltung gegeben wurde, nicht

¹In Walter A. Reicharts trefflicher Bibliographie: "Fifty Years of Hauptmann Study in America", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, Januar 1945, sind allein 722 amerikanische Veröffentlichungen über Hauptmann gegeben.

²Gerhart Hauptmann: "Das Hirtenlied". Ein Fragment. Auf Grund des handschriftlichen Bestandes mit einem Nachwort herausgegeben von Felix A. Voigt. Sprache und Kultur der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker, D. Texte, Band 3, Breslau 1935.

³Felix A. Voigt: "Antike und antikes Lebensgefühl im Werke Gerhart Hauptmanns". *Deutschkundliche Arbeiten*, B. Schlesische Reihe, Band 5, Breslau 1935.

⁴F. K. Richter: "Otto Ludwigs Trauerspielplan 'Tiberius Gracchus' und sein Zusammenhang mit den 'Shakespeare-Studien'". Sprache und Kultur der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker, B. Germanistische Reihe, Band 12, Breslau 1935.

⁵Hubert Razinger: "Carl Hauptmann", Bonavoluntas-Verlag, Krummhübel i. R. 1928.

anerkannt, und über Goldsteins Hauptmann-Buch⁶ äußert er sich in einem Brief an mich: "Das Goldstein'sche Buch ist schlecht. Er macht aus dem Ganzen eine Klatsch- und Tratschangelegenheit."—Aber wir können versichert sein, daß einmal eine ganz großangelegte Carl Hauptmann-Biographie erscheinen wird, denn Peuckert berichtete mir kurz vor dem Ausbruch des letzten Konfliktes, daß er Stadt und Stellung verlassen habe, auf einem kleinen Landsitz in Schlesien wohne und an Hauptmann arbeite. "Ich sitze an seiner Biographie", schreibt er, "aber bis die fertig wird, wird es noch mehrere Jahre dauern".⁷

Ähnlich, vielleicht aber problematisch, steht es um die Stehr-Forschung. Da sind bereits, und das noch zu Lebzeiten des Dichters, Arbeiten erschienen, die den besten über Gerhart Hauptmann gleichkommen. Der erste Stehrbiograph war Helmut Wocke, der schon 1922 ein bedeutendes Buch schrieb, welches das dichterische Werk bis zum "Heiligenhof" umschließt.⁸ 1924 veranstaltete Wilhelm Meridies eine Sammlung von Stehraufsätzen bedeutender deutscher Gelehrter und Dichter wie Arnold Zweig, Werner Mahrholz, Paul Fechter, Hermann Bahr, Max Hermann-Neiße u.a., die er in Habelschwerdt unter dem Titel "Hermann Stehr, sein Werk und seine Welt" veröffentlichte.⁹ Diese sehr kleine, nur tausend Exemplare zählende Auflage, fand seiner Zeit, obwohl sie zum sechzigsten Geburtstag des Dichters erschien, wenig Beachtung, ist aber im Stehrstudium stets wegen ihrer Vielseitigkeit als bedeutungsvoll erachtet worden. 1929 erschien ein nur wenige Seiten umfassender Vortrag von Werner Milch,¹⁰ der dann 1934 zu einem kleinen Buch¹¹ erweitert wurde, das eines der wichtigsten Beiträge zur Stehrliteratur darstellt. Sonst sind von deutscher Seite noch einige Dissertationen veröffentlicht worden, so von Martin Krebs "Hermann Stehr, sein Werk im Zusammenhange des religiösen Bewußtseins der Gegen-

⁶ Walter Goldstein: "Carl Hauptmann", Schweidnitz 1931, und "Carl Hauptmann, eine Werkdeutung", Breslau 1931.

⁷ Inzwischen sind hier in Amerika zwei Hauptmann-Arbeiten erschienen: F. K. Richter: "Zum Problem Carl Hauptmann", *Journal of English and German Philology*, Juli 1940; Andrew Ezell Terry: "The Literary Significance of the Silesian Elements in the Works of Carl Hauptmann and Hermann Stehr", vorläufig als ein Auszug erschienen in *Stanford University Bulletin*, November 1942.

⁸ Helmut Wocke: "Hermann Stehr und sein Werk, ein Bekenntnis", Berlin, ohne Jahresangabe, wahrscheinlich 1922.

⁹ Wilhelm Meridies: "Hermann Stehr, sein Werk und seine Welt", Habelschwerdt 1924.

¹⁰ Werner Milch: "Hermann Stehr, seine Stellung im Schrifttum Schlesiens," Breslau 1929.

¹¹ Werner Milch: "Hermann Stehr, seine dichterische Welt und ihre Probleme", Joachim Goldstein Verlag, Berlin 1934.—Man beachte, daß die wertvollen Beiträge von Dr. W. Milch nicht in dem Kapitel "Benutztes Schrifttum" der bald zu erwähnenden Dissertation von Gustav Blanke angeführt worden sind!

wart",¹² 1932, die anscheinend im Druck stark gekürzt wurde und sich etwas dürrtig ausnimmt, obwohl ein feiner Beitrag zur Stehr'schen Sprache darin geliefert wird; Hans M. Meyer schrieb 1936 über "Das Übersinnliche bei Hermann Stehr",¹³ heute schon weit überholt und nur noch historisch interessant; drei in den Jahren 1937, 38, und 39 erschienene Arbeiten über den Dichter von Erich Mühle,¹⁴ Gustav Blanke¹⁵ und Walter Schlusnus¹⁶ erscheinen äußerst bedenklich, da sie plötzlich Begriffe und Tendenzen in die Stehrdeutung hineinzwängen, die, von Straße und Versammlungsraum herbeigeht, dem Werke des Dichters recht konträr sind. Auch in dem sonst klargesehenen Aufsatz von Heinz Kindermann, der 1935 in der *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* erschien,¹⁷ erklingen jene Mißtöne. Vereinzelt stehen in *Dichtung und Volkstum* der von Zeitströmungen unbeeinflusste Aufsatz von Robert Petsch¹⁸ und die im *Kunstwart* erschienene tiefgreifende Auseinandersetzung mit Stehr'scher Mystik von Richard Schwarz.¹⁹

Aus Angedeutetem möge meine eingangs geäußerte Befürchtung, daß die Stehr-Forschung problematisch geworden sei, Verständnis finden. Es ist zu bedauern, daß die so hoffnungsvoll mit Wocke, Meridies und Milch begonnene Arbeit in Dürrtigkeit ausmündete, die dann anlässlich des 75. Geburtstages Stehrs geradezu peinlich zugespitzt wurde.

Es ist nun das große Verdienst der außerdeutschen Germanistik, da eingegriffen zu haben, wo es im Namen "handfester Wissenschaft"²⁰ nötig war. Das Ausland, besonders Holland, Schweden, Kanada und die Vereinigten Staaten haben da in der Stehr-Forschung eingesetzt, wo letztere begann, die Bahnen objektiver Wissenschaftlichkeit zu verlassen. In Groningen erschien 1936 der bis jetzt bedeutendste Beitrag zur Stehrphilologie von Emil Freitag "Hermann Stehr, Gehalt und Gestalt seiner Dichtung". Der erste, über 300

¹² Martin Krebs: "Hermann Stehr, sein Werk im Zusammenhange des religiösen Bewußtseins der Gegenwart", Limburg a. d. Lahn 1932.

¹³ Hans M. Meyer: "Das Übersinnliche bei Hermann Stehr", *Germanistische Studien*, Heft 179, Berlin 1936.

¹⁴ Erich Mühle: "Hermann Stehr, ein deutscher Gottsucher der Gegenwart", Stuttgart 1937.

¹⁵ Gustav Blanke: "Hermann Stehrs Menschengestaltung", *Neue Deutsche Forschungen*, Band 21, Berlin 1939.

¹⁶ Walter Schlusnus: "Die Frage der Polarität und der Einheit im Werk Hermann Stehrs", Königsberg 1938.

¹⁷ Heinz Kindermann: "Hermann Stehr", *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, Heft 6, 1935.

¹⁸ Robert Petsch: "Hermann Stehr", *Dichtung und Volkstum*, Band 36, 1935. Auch der kleine, tapfere Aufsatz in der Februarnummer der *Schlesischen Monatshefte* 1939 "Zur inneren Form der Dichtung Hermann Stehrs" sollte im Stehrschrifttum nie vergessen werden.

¹⁹ Richard Schwarz: "Die Mystik Hermann Stehrs", *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift* 1939, Band 17.

²⁰ Dieser Ausdruck stammt von meinem großen Lehrer, Professor Dr. Paul Merker an der Friedrich Wilhelmsuniversität zu Breslau.

Seiten umfassende Band "Weltanschauung" ist vorläufig erst erschienen und stellt eine philologische Glanzleistung dar. Freitag beginnt mit einer Geschichte der Mystik, die er bis zu Stehr zieht, dessen Begriffe von Mensch und Schicksal dann noch besondere Darstellung finden und dessen Werke schließlich nach Motiv und Symbolik analysiert werden. Fast um dieselbe Zeit erschien Hermann Boeschstein's "Hermann Stehr; Einführung in die Stimmung seines Werkes",²¹ das, da in der bekannten Breslauer Reihe "Sprache und Kultur der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker" veröffentlicht, anscheinend schneller und besser bekannt wurde als das Emil Freitags.—Von Toronto, wo Boeschstein wirkt, kommt auch die erste Stehrdissertation in englischer Sprache "An Analysis of the Problems in the Work of Hermann Stehr".²² Die Verfasserin ist Victoria E. Müller, die hoffentlich das bisher nur in Maschinenschrift vorliegende Manuskript bald einem weiteren Kreis zugänglich machen wird.—Neben diesen Arbeiten in Buchform stehen einige in den Vereinigten Staaten veröffentlichte wichtige Artikel, die für die Stehr-Forschung unentbehrlich sind. Walter A. Reichart gab 1931 schon eine allgemeine Einführung zu Stehr,²³ der 1934 ein Geburtstagsartikel folgte.²⁴ Das Stehrheft der *Monatshefte* brachte 1941 Beiträge von Hofacker²⁵ und Boeschstein,²⁶ und die *P.M.L.A.* veröffentlichten einen weiteren Aufsatz Hofackers über "Sinnlich-übersinnliche Bedeutung der Tonwelt in Hermann Stehrs Erzählungswerk",²⁷ der, obwohl er nur ein kleines Gebiet zu umreißen scheint, doch tief in das eigentliche Stehrthema greift. Ich selbst habe versucht, besonders dem Gestaltlichen des Werkes nachzugehen, und schrieb fünf Aufsätze in unseren amerikanischen Fachzeitschriften.²⁸ 1940 erschien ein feiner zusammenfassender

²¹ E. Freitag: "Hermann Stehr. Gehalt und Gestalt seiner Dichtung", Groningen-Batavia 1936.

²² V. E. Müller: "An Analysis of the Problems in the Work of Hermann Stehr", Toronto 1933.

²³ W. A. Reichart: "Hermann Stehr and His Work", *Philological Quarterly*, January 1931. Dies ist meines Wissens der erste Aufsatz über Stehr in englischer Sprache und daher von besonderer Bedeutung, denn er machte einen großen Leserkreis für Stehr offen.

²⁴ W. A. Reichart: "Hermann Stehr; zum 70. Geburtstag", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, Februar 1934.

²⁵ E. Hofacker: "Hermann Stehrs Gudnatz", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, März 1941. (Vorher erschienen waren schon: "Äußeres und Inneres in Stehrs Geigenmacher", ebenda, März 1936, und "Stifters Abdias und Stehrs Heiligenhofbauer", ebenda, November 1939.)

²⁶ H. Boeschstein: "Hermann Stehr, der Erzähler-Mystiker", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, März 1941.

²⁷ Publications of Modern Language Association, June 1940.

²⁸ F. K. Richter: "Zu Hermann Stehrs Drama Meta Konegen", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, Februar 1939. "Hermann Stehrs Künstler-novellen", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, October 1942. "Der vergleichende Ausdruck in Stehrs 'Heiligenhof'", *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, October 1942. "Zu Hermann Stehrs Altersromanen", *Modern Language Quarterly*, March 1944. "Die Entstehungsgeschichte von Stehrs 'Heiligenhof'", *Germanic Review*, April 1943.

Bericht des schwedischen Gelehrten Alker in der holländischen Zeitschrift *Neophilologus*.²⁹ Zwei weitere Dissertationen in englischer Sprache wurden von der Stanford Universität und der von Pennsylvanien zur Erreichung der Doktorwürde angenommen. Die im Jahre 1942 von Andrew Ezell Terry vorgelegte, beschäftigt sich mit schlesischen Elementen im Werke Carl Hauptmanns und Hermann Stehrs und steht vorläufig bedauerlicherweise nur in Form eines Auszugs³⁰ leichter zur Verfügung. Sie soll, wie es da heißt, auf der Nadler-Theorie beruhen, die vielen Schlesienforschern recht unsicher erscheint.³¹ Einige allgemeine Feststellungen, wie: "Stehr's mysticism is definitely intuitive, controlled by his own feeling and not by his thinking", hören sich störend an. Doch sind das nur Bedenken gegen den kleinen Auszug, die gedruckte Arbeit muß noch abgewartet werden.—Weit mehr kann über die Philadelphiaer Dissertation von Karl Siegfried Weimar ausgesagt werden, die soeben im Druck erschienen ist.³² Obwohl der Titel seiner Arbeit ziemlich begrenzend klingt, versucht dieselbe doch das ganze Kerngebiet zu umreißen, indem er "Love" in einem weiten Sinne gebraucht. So berichtet denn seine Arbeit "The Concept of Love in the Works of Hermann Stehr" über Stehrs Stellung zu Familie, Freundschaft, Frauenliebe, Menschheit, materieller Welt, zur Nation, der Kunst, Natur und schließlich zu Gott. Sie faßt und gruppiert fein, was bisher über Stehr gesagt wurde, und ist umso wichtiger, da sie in englischer Sprache erschienen ist. Gewiß werden nun, nach dem Tode Stehrs weitere Arbeiten erscheinen, zumal eine brauchbare Ausgabe des Stehr'schen Gesamtwerkes vom Paul List Verlag vorliegt. Es wird vor allem auch die Aufgabe sein, das fragmentarische Werk, besonders den unvollendeten dritten Band der Maechlerromane "Damians Traum"³³ zu veröffentlichen, der, wie mir kurz vor des Dichters Tode mitgeteilt wurde, weit fortgeschritten ist. Leider,—und das mag sich inzwischen geändert haben,—soll Hans Christoph Kaergel, der bisher lauteste Schriftsteller der Schlesiergruppe, mit dem Verwalten des Nachlasses beauftragt worden sein. Wer Kaer-

²⁹ *Neophilologus*, 1940, Band 2.

³⁰ Andrew Ezell Terry: "The Literary Significance of the Silesian Elements in the Works of Carl Hauptmann and Hermann Stehr", *Stanford University Bulletin*, November 1942.

³¹ Vgl. besonders Werner Milch und auch meine Stellungnahme dazu in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, July 1940, pp. 337 und 338.

³² Karl Siegfried Weimar: "The Concept of Love in the Works of Hermann Stehr", Philadelphia 1945.—Eine genaue Besprechung von mir erscheint in den *Mitteilungen der Literarischen Gesellschaft* von Chicago, III.

³³ Vgl. Wolfgang Schwarz: "Damians Traum unvollendet", *Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, 12. 9. 1940. Dieser Aufsatz, von Weimar als "not available" angegeben, befindet sich in meiner Stehrsammlung.

gels 1939 erschienene "Schlesische Dichtung der Gegenwart"⁸⁴ und sein "Stehr-Buch" kennt, weiß um meine Befürchtung.

Nun zu einigen strittigen Punkten im Stehrstudium! Der erste hängt mit dem zusammen, wofür ich gewisse Forscher anklage: Einführung stehrfremder Elemente. Ich nehme hier auf den Begriff *Gemeinschaft* bezug. Es heißt z.B. bei Kaergel: "Stehr hat als erster vorausgesehen, daß der Einzelmensch mit seinem Recht auf die Auslese keine Daseinsberechtigung hatte.⁸⁵ . . . Heute wissen wir, daß das Schaffen eines Dichters nur dann groß ist, wenn darin sich ein Menschentum verschwendet, das nicht für sich lebt, sondern für die Gemeinschaft".⁸⁶ Gustav Blanke drückt sich noch viel eindeutiger aus. Ein ganzes Kapitel seines Buches widmet er der "positiv erlebten Gemeinschaft" bei Stehr, wovon er ein Unterkapitel dem "Weg des Heiligenhofbauern zur Gemeinschaft" widmet, dem bald darauf ein bezeichnender Abschnitt "Die Bindung an das Blut" folgt. Unter dem Begriff "Gemeinschaft" wird ganz eindeutig auf Volksgemeinschaft, Rassengemeinschaft u.ä. hingezielt, um Stehr damit zum großen Kündler der Blut- und Bodentheorie zu machen.—Es muß hier allerdings zugestanden werden, daß jene tendenziösen Forscher nicht durch ein entschiedenes Dazwischentreten Stehrs entmutigt worden sind, sondern daß der alte Stehr sich manchmal in dieser ihm zugeordneten Rolle zu gefallen schien. Das ist nicht nur meine Beobachtung gewesen, der ich seine pompöse Promotionsfeier in Breslau miterlebte,—es war schon 1934—, sondern es kann auch wieder eine bezeichnende Stelle des schlesischen Künders W. E. Peuckert in einem Brief an mich angeführt werden. "Aber Ihre Frage", so schreibt er, "ist schwer zu beantworten. Da stört mich vor allem die Eitelkeit, wenn man das Ding einmal mit Namen nennen darf. Es ist ja vielleicht umgekehrt eine Eitelkeit von mir, wenn ich denke, Stehr ist garnicht so wichtig—wir alle sind garnicht so wichtig wie es scheint. Ilse Langner—der erfreulichste Fall der schlesischen Dichtung—erzählte einmal: Ich stieg in Neu-York in den Bus, sah die Gesichter um mich und dachte: Menschenskind was willst du eigentlich? So viele Schicksale um dich herum! Warum nimmst du dich so wichtig? und dein bisschen Schreiben so wichtig?—Ich denke das auch. Stehr aber scheint, sehe ich recht, nicht so zu denken. Sondern er scheint überall ganz vorn dabei sein zu müssen. Selbst um hohe

⁸⁴ H. Ch. Kaergel: "Schlesische Dichtung der Gegenwart", Breslau 1939. Diese Literaturgeschichte ist völlig unwissenschaftlich und unterschlägt in ihrer Tendenziosität große zeitgenössische schlesische Gestalter wie W. E. Peuckert und Ilse Langner.

⁸⁵ ebenda, S. 62.

⁸⁶ H. Ch. Kaergel: "Stehr-Buch", Paul List Verlag 1927, S. 8.

Preise, die er zahlt. (Sie verstehen, ich rede hier nicht von Bargeld).³⁷

Dieser Gemeinschaftsbegriff, um den es sich hier handelt, muß bald einmal von objektiver Seite her in einer längeren Untersuchung herausgestellt werden. Wo denn gehen die Stehr'schen Menschen zu jener "positiven Gemeinschaft"? Es ist wahr, all seine Menschen sind die Unruhe selbst; sie suchen, sehnen sich nach etwas. Sie zittern "wie fahles Laub in herbstlichen Abendbäumen", sprechen kaum, sondern schreien "wie ein Seil vor dem Reißen" oder stammeln "wie das angstvolle Pfeifen eines Hasen" und gehen oft freiwillig aus dem Leben. Man denke an den Graveur Schramm, an Wenzel und Frau Stumpf, an den Inspektor und dessen Mika, an Franz Tone, dem Schindelmacher, alle aus "Leben und Tod" oder an die rasende Marie Exner und den Schuster Klose im "Begrabenen Gott", an Thaddäus Frenzel aus dem "Feuersamen". Die patriarchalische Gestalt des alten Willmann aus den "Drei Nächten" bereitet sich den Flammentod und Fabers Mutter stürzt sich aus dem Fenster. Ja, selbst das Lenlein aus dem "Heiligenhof", das aus seiner Harmonie im Blindsein plötzlich durch ihr Sehendwerden herausgerissen wird, muß denselben Weg in den selbstgewählten Tod wie ihr Zerstörer Peter Brindeisener gehen, da auch sie einen Ausweg nicht finden kann. Jene, die nicht ihr unruhvolles Leben beenden, sondern bis zum Letzten durchzuhalten versuchen, enden in der Nacht des Wahnsinns, die wiederum oft durch Selbstmord abgebrochen wird.

Blicken wir nun auf jene wenigen in den größeren Werken, die sich behaupten. Es sind der Philosoph Faber, der Sintlingerbauer des Heiligenhofes, der Arbeiter Wendelin Heinelt und der Gerber und "Talmensch" Maechler. Wie steht es mit deren Weg zur Gemeinschaft? Faber hat sich nach einem unruhigen Rebellenleben zu einer Weisheit durchgerungen, die er am Ende des Geschehens im "Heiligenhof" dem Sintlingerbauern mitteilt. Sie enthält ungefähr dies: Nur ganz wenige Menschen können zu einem Verständnis dieser Welt gelangen, und diese wenigen müssen, wenn sie einander finden, sich gegenseitig helfen. Der Weg weist zum schroffsten Individualismus:

Die Glocke (so sagt Faber dem Sintlinger), die du alle Tage läutest, tönt dir nicht ihren Klang, nicht deine eigene Stimme und nicht deinen Geist, sondern die Stimme und den Geist deiner gestorbenen Tochter Helene. Aber so, wie es jetzt ist, war es noch als sie lebte. . . . Auch damals lebst du eigentlich nur ihr Leben, sannst mit ihrem Geiste und fühltest mit ihrem Herzen.— Darum, als ein Wandel über dein Kind kam, als sie durch die Erschütterungen der Liebe das äußere Gesicht erlangte und dann gar im Tode von dir verschwand, mußte sich alles von dir verwandeln und verschwinden, weil du

³⁷ Dieser und weitere Peuckerbriefe sind in meinem Besitz und stehen Schlesienforschern gern zur Verfügung.

nur durch ihr Dasein lebstest. Selbst die reinste Liebe ist ein Irrweg, wenn sie dich nicht ganz auf den Pfaden deines Geistes führt, und zu allerletzt im tiefsten darf kein Mensch jemand anders gehören als nur Gott.³⁸

Da bei Stehr Gott gleich eigene Seele ist, so bedeuten Fabers Worte eine Aufforderung zum tiefsten, edelsten Individualismus, denn es ist Stehrs Überzeugung, daß die Menschheit nur durch die Besserung des Einzelnen gerettet werden könne.³⁹ "Bedenke", schreibt er einmal mahnend an seinen Sohn, "Du hast als Ziel nur Dich selbst".⁴⁰— Und diese Mahnung wird von dem Heiligenhofbauern auch richtig verstanden. Seine Ruhelosigkeit hört auf, er besinnt sich auf sich selbst und findet somit einen Ausgleich. In dieser harmonischen Auf-sichbezogenheit wird er dann ein nützliches Glied der Dorfgemeinschaft, aber nur insoweit, als er Liebe und Güte von sich ausstrahlen läßt.—Nicht viel anders steht es um den von Gustav Blanke hoch-gepriesenen Gemeinschaftsmenschen Wendelin Heinelt, der in seiner neugeborenen Gemeinschaftsbezogenheit noch "schöner" sei als der Sintlinger. Was macht ihn denn so schön? Er rettet einen Menschenbruder, welcher der Verdammung preisgegeben war, indem er auf seine eigene Flamme der Gnade verzichtete. Weiter wissen wir nichts. Nur heißt es dann noch:

Auch du hast dann und wann schon einen aus seiner Familie gesehen. Wenn du jemand um einen Trunk Wasser bittest, und er reicht dir die Kanne, um einen Bissen, und er langt dir das Brot hin, um ein Eckchen für dein Haupt, und er bietet dir sein Haus an, so wisse, es ist ein Kind jenes Wendelin Heinelt, der voll Schmerz sein Glück suchen ging, und als er es gefunden hatte, dessen nicht achtete, um seinem ärmeren Bruder zu helfen.⁴¹

Dies ist die Seligkeit, in der Sintlinger und Heinelt enden, und sie bedeutet nichts anderes als ein Eingehen in die mystische *imitatio Christi*. Diese ist Stehrs Gemeinschaftsbegriff und hat mit irgendwelchen staatlichen oder sozialen Bindungen nichts zu tun. Betrachten wir doch den einen großen Stehrcharakter im Spätwerk, Nathanael Maechler, der sich wie kein anderer mit allen Kräften auf das Leben in seiner Stadtgemeinschaft wirft, der ein großer Geschäftsmann und Politiker in seinem engen Kreis wird! Er tut das nicht, weil er Vollendeter, sondern weil er ein Unvollendeter ist. Seine schicksalhafte Vergangenheit, in der er eine Schuld auf sich

³⁸ Hermann Stehr: "Der Heiligenhof", Paul List Verlag 1926, S. 549.

³⁹ "Fangt in euch mit dem Paradiese an, dann ist's auch auf der Erde aufgetan" ("Lebensbuch", S. 201).

"Wenn Ihr Euren neuen nationalen Lebensglauben nicht in dem tiefsten Grunde Eures Wesens, in seinem unzeitlichen göttlichen Grunde, der Seele, verankert, so bleibt die Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, auf deren Fahnen Ihr schwört, doch nur ein Massenbetrieb, der leicht bei einer geschichtlichen Schicksalswende zur Massenflucht werden kann". (Man lese diese Worte "An die deutsche Jugend" aus dem "Stundenglas", S. 116, heute, nach der Erfüllung jenes weisen Wortes!)

⁴⁰ Man bemerke die Verbindung zu Angelus Silesius.

⁴¹ Hermann Stehr: "Wendelin Heinelt", S. 92.

geladen hat, machte ihn zum arbeitenden Menschen im Tal. Er will vergessen. Überall, wo Stehrmenschen zu arbeiten anfangen, tun sie es nicht aus einem gemeinschaftsbildenden Zwang oder Geist, sondern um sich zu betäuben. Freitag bemerkt dasselbe, wenn er sagt: "Durch berserkerhaften Fleiß, durch Arbeitswut suchen Stehrs Gestalten sich gegen Schicksalsschläge zu betäuben, sich vor der Verzweiflung zu retten".⁴² Dieses nämliche tut Nathanael Maechler und, ich glaube, von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus gerät die ganze Gemeinschaftstheorie tendenziöser Richtung ins Schwanken, denn Nathanael erreicht nichts, sein Machen ist nur ein Maecheln.—Der letzte Mensch den Stehr gestaltete, ist Pankrätius Schiedeck, der Holzschnitzer aus Habelschwerdt.⁴³ Er lebt in der Gemeinschaft jener schlesischen Kleinstadt, hat eine zahlreiche Familie und eine berühmte Kundschaft, aber auch er ist trotz aller Gemeinschaftsbindungen einer, "den es treibt". Die heilige Unruhe treibt ihn hinweg von Familie, Geschäft und Stadt, die er alle aufgibt, nur um seinem Wunschbild nachzujagen, das er dann auch erfüllt sieht.

So sollte im Stehrschrifttum, wenn schon das Wort "Gemeinschaft" gebraucht werden soll, ein Streben darunter zu verstehen sein nach mystischer Gemeinschaft im Sinne des Meisters Eckhart, deren Aktivität in der imitatio Christi besteht. Damit erreichen wir einen weiteren problematischen Punkt im Stehrstudium, nämlich den der Stehr'schen Stellung in der Mystik. Da dieses Thema den Umfang einer Doktorarbeit umfaßt, wird hier nur versucht werden, eine besonders krasse Stelle zu betonen.

Der Begriff der Mystik—wir wissen es, daß er viele Erklärungen und abweichende Definitionen gefunden hat—wird zur selben Zeit, in der wesensfremde Elemente ins Stehr'sche Werk hineingedeutet werden, von den gleichen Forschern derart verwaschen und jeder bisher üblichen Verständigung konträr ausgelegt, daß unbedingt Widerstand geleistet werden muß, wenn nicht alles bisher Geordnete und Gefundene wie Treibholz davongejagt werden soll. In seiner "Schlesischen Dichtung der Gegenwart" gibt H. Ch. Kaergel eine neue Interpretation der schlesischen Mystik.⁴⁴ Diese ist ihm natürlich ein Problem des Bodens, der Landschaft. Die Schlesier seien als Kolonisten von Franken, Flandern und den Alpen in die Ebenen und Berge Schlesiens gekommen. Mit sich hätten sie ein unsägliches Heimweh gebracht, das durch das tägliche Betrachten des neuen Gebirges wachgehalten wurde. In den jüngeren Generationen sei das Heimweh gewichen, die Sehnsucht aber sei geblieben. So sei Boehmes und Angelus Silesius' und anderer Sehnsucht nach dem Urgrund zu erklären.—Gewiß sollte die Privatan sicht eines Pseudo-Gelehrten

⁴² S. 168.

⁴³ Hermann Stehr: "Der Himmelschlüssel", Leipzig 1939.

⁴⁴ S. 22 u.f.

uns in der Stehr-Forschung nicht beunruhigen. Ich erinnere aber, daß Stehr Kaergel auf das Schild des Erfolges gehoben hat, daß er Kaergel das Buch zum 70. Geburtstag herausgeben ließ, und daß ihm sogar der Nachlaß des Dichters anvertraut wurde.

Die Probleme der Mystik liegen nicht so unendlich einfach, wie es Kaergel lehren möchte. Mystik ist von Menschen aller Rassen und Völker gleich erlebtes Sehnen nach dem Göttlichen in der eigenen Menschenseele. Ob in China, Indien, England, Amerika oder in Görnitz, Schlesien: jene ringenden Menschen kümmern sich garnicht um die äußere Welt. Sie ist ihnen nur Schein, oder, wie es Stehr sieht, "ein Fenster, durch das man hindurch muß". Wie wenig der Begriff Scholle oder heimatliche Landschaft im Stehr'schen Werk bedeutet weiß ein jeder. Zwar spielen fast alle Begebnisse in derselben schlesischen Landschaft, aber das ist kein Beweis für das Gegenteil. Die schlesische Landschaft wird benutzt, weil es zu kompliziert ist, sich in eine andere hineinzudenken. Es lohnt sich nicht, da nur der unruhige Mensch interessiert. Im übrigen verweise ich zum Mystikbegriff bei Stehr auf Freitags Buch, das fast ausschließlich diesem Leitgedanken untergeordnet ist. Es ist zu bedauern, daß es Kaergel vor der Niederschrift seiner Literaturzusammenstellung nicht studiert oder begriffen hat.⁴⁵

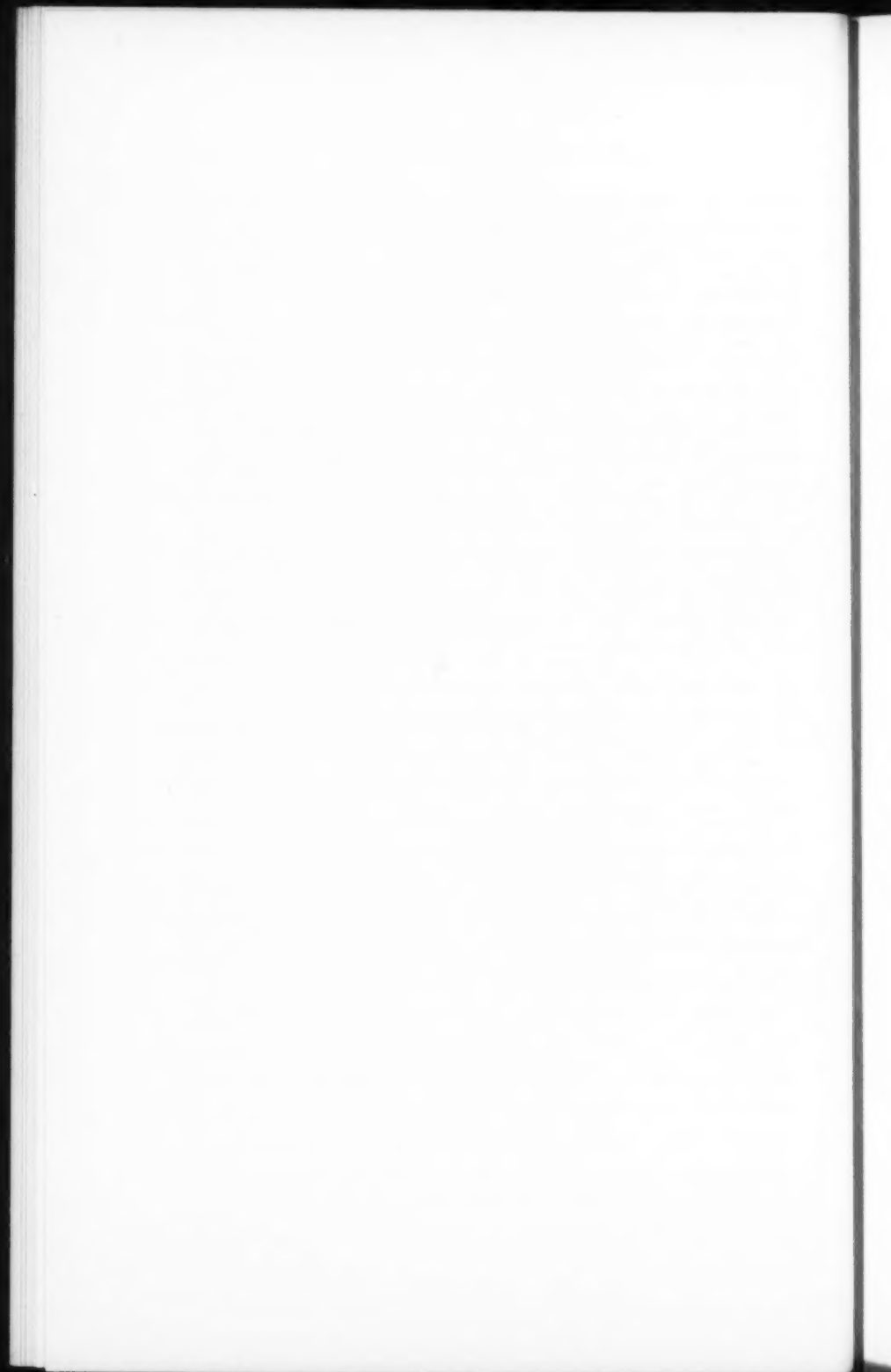
Als ein drittes möchte ich nun noch ein stilistisches Problem andeuten. Stehrs Sprache ist nur gelegentlich Gegenstand eingehender Untersuchung gewesen. Wocke, Meyer und Boeschstein bringen einiges in ihren Arbeiten, Freitags umfassender zweiter Band über die Gestalt des Werkes ist noch nicht erschienen. In dem bisher Gesagten wird von genannten Forschern besonders auf die Bildkraft in der Stehr'schen Sprache hingewiesen, daß der Dichter viele treffende Vergleiche benutze, die sehr konkret seien, um das feine mystische Problem, so gut es eben ginge, verständlich zu machen. "Auffällig ist die Fülle der Vergleiche", sagt Wocke, "auffällig nur auf den ersten Blick. Denn Tiefstes zu künden, ist dem Dichter und Philosophen nur durch das Kunstmittel des Bildes möglich", und Boeschstein stellt dieses Problem ebenso dar.

Ich bin dieser Frage nachgegangen, und habe sämtliche vergleichenden Ausdrücke aus den 32 Erzählungswerken herausgeschrieben und untersucht. Dabei konnte ich feststellen, daß sich von den 1120 gesammelten Vergleichen allein 485 auf den menschlichen Körper beziehen, das ist die knappe Hälfte,—und das imsonderen auf den Körper als Ganzes, seltener auf die einzelnen Teile; 247, also rund einviertel, verdeutlichen Landschafts- und Milieuschilderungen, wogegen nur 221 sich auf den geistigen und seelischen Menschen beziehen, wobei ganz selten, und das im Widerspruch zu

⁴⁵ R. Schwarz' Aufsatz, der oben schon erwähnt wurde, muß ebenfalls mit herangezogen werden. Auch Weimars Dissertation ist hier einfach und doch aufschlußreich.

Wocke und Boeschstein, versucht wird, das "Tiefste" mit Konkretem zu vergleichen. Von den eben genannten, sich auf Geist und Seele beziehenden vergleichenden Ausdrücken, beschäftigen sich wiederum, wie bei dem menschlichen Körper (und wie auch bei Landschaft und Milieu), die weitaus größere Mehrheit mit dem Menschen als Ganzes, und das meistens ziemlich allgemein und nicht oft selbstschöpferisch gehalten. Z.B. kommt der Vergleich mit einem Vogel oder einem Baum durchgehend und oft vor. Stehr versucht ganz selten einen mystischen Begriff zu vergleichen, weiß er doch, wie alle Gleichstrebenden, daß Mystik ineffabile sei, und demgemäß hat er sich auch oft geäußert und den Aphorismus geformt "Reden ist Bäumezerhacken". Wie sollte er dann plötzlich derart widersprüchig sein und sein Heiligstes, das Sehnen nach dem Urgrund, mit täglich-gewöhnlichen Dingen vergleichen? Meine Untersuchung läßt es als deutlich erscheinen, daß Stehr bemüht war, Konkretes mit Konkretem zu vergleichen, um dem zarten mystischen Stoffgehalt ein notwendiges Gegengewicht zu bieten. Vielleicht gerade prägt dieser Sinn für reale Dinge neben dem Hauptinteresse an der Seele, Stehr erst zum wahren Vertreter der schlesischen Mystik. Schon Nadler hatte in seiner Literaturgeschichte festgestellt, daß die Schlesier durch *ratio* und *imaginatio* in zwei Lager gespalten seien. Diese Theorie wurde später durch Milch berichtigt, der nachweisen kann, daß die Schlesier nicht in Lager gespalten seien, daß es nicht zwei getrennte Traditionen gäbe, eine dichterischer und die andere mystischer Art, sondern daß das Zusammentreffen beider die schlesische Schicksalsfrage wurde. Ähnlich liegt das Problem mit Carl Hauptmann. Die seit Opitz in der schlesischen Literatur aufweisbare *ratio* drückt sich bei ihm, wie bei Stehr, oft im Stilistischen aus. Novellen lesen sich wie Dramen, Stehrs Schlüsse besonders sind eindrucksvoll und gewaltig wie Aktschlüsse großer Tragödien. Ich denke an den "Schindelmacher" und den "Begrabenen Gott"; die Alterswerke lassen darin nach. Gewöhnlich wird alles wuchtig und realistisch gestaltet. Auf der anderen Seite aber handelt es sich doch immer um das seit Boehme, Silesius und Zinzendorf gleiche Problem des Ringens um das eigene göttliche Selbst.

So ist der schlesische Dichter, ob es Carl Hauptmann, Stehr, Gerhart Pohl, Ilse Langner oder Will E. Peuckert ist, immer derselbe sehnsucht-schaffende Mystiker, allerdings mit festeren, erdhaften Händen. Mystik im Gehalt, Realismus im Gestalten, wobei nicht versucht wird, mystisch-Abstraktes realistisch zu deuten, das ist die Synthese, die sich heute überall im schlesischen Menschen, auch selbst in dem von diesen Problemen scheinbar entfernteren Gerhart Hauptmann, äußert,—und dieses Forschungsergebnis könnte der helfende Schlüssel zum Verständnis Hermann Stehrs werden.



ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE MARNER'S "TAGELIEDER"

By JOHN LANCASTER RIORDAN

Several years ago my study entitled "Additional Notes to a *Spruch* of Der Marner"¹ presented extensive addenda to the first song in Professor Strauch's standard edition² of the Marner's poems. These important notes, which Strauch himself collected over a period of several decades and entered into his own private copy,³ represent a valuable addition to our knowledge of medieval German poetry, language, and culture. The present article is the first continuation promised in the foregoing study. It comprises the two extant *Tagelieder* of the Marner, namely Songs II and III.

The Middle High German *tageliet*, which is a specialized form of the *minneliet*, or love song, became popular in Germany early in the thirteenth century and remained so in one form or another for centuries afterward.⁴ In contrast to the conventional lyric expression of love, however, the *tageliet* presents a concrete situation and treats it epically and dramatically. In all of these songs the basic plots are the same: A man and a woman spend the night in amorous embraces in the lady's chamber. A watchman on the tower or battlements warns of the approach of day.⁵ As the union of the lovers is forbidden or—more usually—adulterous, a fourth character, the husband or father of the lady plays a negative role in the background as a potential antagonistic force. There may also be spies, designated as *merkaere* or *huote*, who seek to discover the hero and heroine in their surreptitious pleasures.⁶ Following the warning—which often occurs at the outset of the poem—the lovers carry on a dialogue in which they attempt to convince each other that the watchman lies or is mistaken, that it is still night, and that they may still enjoy their clandestine amours a while longer. Many poets describe in suggestive detail the

¹ *MLQ*, III (December, 1942), 605-10.

² Philipp Strauch, *Der Marner*, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker," XIV (Strassburg: Trübner, 1876).

³ Now in the possession of Professor Archer Taylor, who has generously permitted me to use the book for this article.

⁴ For the literature on this genre see Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, "Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen," VI, zweiter Teil, Schlußband (Munich: Beck, 1935), 201 f.

⁵ The warner, who may also be a chambermaid, lady-in-waiting, or even a bird, was introduced from the Provençal *alba* into the MHG *tageliet* by Wolfram von Eschenbach. He may or may not be an accomplice of the lovers, and occasionally he takes part in the conversation.

⁶ The husband or father and the *huote* or *merkaere* comprise the *drô*, which the lovers fear. These negative characters thus provide suspense.

nocturnal caresses. Finally, after a passionate parting scene, the paramour slips away in the nick of time.

The medieval German *tageliet* seems to have had its origin in the Provençal *alba*, and was first popularized by Wolfram von Eschenbach. Nevertheless, the motive of lovers parting at dawn appeared both before and after Wolfram in the folk poetry of various Central European lands. Moreover, the morning-song theme was common to the Latin hymns of Ambrosius, Hilarius, and Prudentius.⁷

Although the Marner was primarily a composer of didactic poems, he also wrote *Tagelieder*, two of which have survived. These are not without a certain charm, though they do not measure up to those of Wolfram von Eschenbach or Walter von der Vogelweide. In addition to conventional motives, however, the Marner employed also numerous uncommon ideas and expressions that have interesting parallels in other Middle High German poems and songs. For example, the lady who runs to the window to assure herself that it is not yet day⁸ has counterparts only in songs of an anonymous poet, of Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob), and in a late Alsatian folksong. The poetic picture of the daylight splitting the clouds⁹ appears also in Wolfram's works and in a folksong, yet it probably derives ultimately from medieval hymns.

The reader will welcome *inter alia* additional references to the classical motive of the destruction of Troy because of a woman; to *röter munt* as a poetical figure for a tender and beautiful young maiden; to *minne*-inflicted wounds which only a woman's love can heal; and to the personification of *vrou Melde*.

Studies treating Professor Strauch's scholia to the Marner's *Sprüche*, *Marienlieder*, lyric poems, and other genres will appear in installments in the future.

II

2 f. Der Anfangsvers *der tac vil schoene wil uf sin* ist wohl Eingang eines bekannten Wächterliedes aus der Volkspoesie. Vgl. Karl Bartsch, *Gesammelte Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Freiburg i. B. und Tübingen: Mohr, 1883), S. 277. Dasselbe auch im *Album des Litterarischen Vereins in Nürnberg für 1865*, Ss. 1-75.

12. *swer tougen lit*. Vgl. *Minnesänger*, gesammelt und hrsg. von F. H. von der Hagen, IV Bde. (Leipzig, 1838), hiernach als *HMS* angeführt, I, 153b, Str. XIV, 5: *sô hüete er sich, swer tougen lit/ alsus warne ich si beide*. Dasselbe bei Jakob Minor, *Die Leiche und Lieder des Schenken Ulrich von Winterstetten* (Wein: Konegen, 1882), S.

⁷ Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁸ Strauch, *op. cit.*, p. 84, vv. 26 f. Marner introduced this motif into the MHG *Tagelied*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86, v. 16. Marner may have borrowed this figure from Wolfram, from whom he learned much in the composing of *Tagelieder*.

25, Vv. 5 f. Weitere Stellen bei Walter de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied* (Leipziger Diss., Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1887), S. 30.

13. Man verbessere die Stelle so: "*Ich warne,*" *alsô der wahter sprach in sorgen.*

15. Die Liebenden fürchten die *drô*. Bruno von Hornberg, *HMS*, II, 67a, Str. III, 2, 9: *sie vorhten melde und ouch den drô.*

21. Der Tagesanbruch zwingt die Liebenden zu scheiden: Otto von Botenlouben, *HMS*, I, 32b, Str. XIV, 1, 12: *wahter, so du welles singen, so sing, es si tak.* Singenberg, Truchseß zu Sankt Gallen, *HMS*, I, 249a, Str. XVI, 5, 9: *nu mag es eht hie niht mer gesin, wol uf, ez ist tak!* Derselbe, *HMS*, I, 291b, Str. XI, 1, 6 f.: *swer sich so winneklicher wunne wol vür war gebröuwen mak,/ der hat die naht niht angst, wan daz in vertriben sol der tak.* Diese beiden Verse werden 2, 5 f.; 3, 5 f.; 4, 5 f. wiederholt und 5, 5 f. am Schluß: *Du leist' ouch ir, als es diu werder lip vil wol geleisten mak,/ mit schiere komene: es mak niht lenger hie gesin, ich sihe den tak.* Für Anklang an die Alba bei Singenberg und weitere Belege, siehe unten zu III, 39. Von Wizenlo, *HMS*, II, 144b, Str. IV, 11: *an liebes arme, sie wande, es waere tak.* Hugo von Montfort, hrsg. von Karl Bartsch, "Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins," CXLIII (Tübingen, 1879), S. 66, X, 1-3: *Ich fragt ein wachter, ob es wer tag/ Er sprach zuo mir fürwahr ich dir sag,/ Es nahet schir hinzo.* Noch weiteres bei Walter de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied* (Leipziger Diss., 1887), S. 28 f.

26 f. In einem elsässischen Volkslied im Stil des Tagesliedes will das Mädchen dem warnenden Wächter keinen Glauben schenken und, um sich zu überzeugen, er habe betrogen, springt sie ans Fenster. Diesen Zug führte der Marner ins Mittelhochdeutsche Tagelied ein. Ihm nachahmend benützten der Frauenlob sowie ein unbekannter Dichter diese Motive in ihren Liedern. Vgl. Curt Mündel, *Elsässische Volkslieder* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1884), S. 27, Vv. 6 f.: *Das Mädchen, das war hurtig und geschwind/ Und sprang gleich an das Fenster.* Gustav Roethe zu Walther de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied* (Leipziger Diss., 1887), in *AnzfdA*, XVI (1890), 81. *uof stuont diu vrouwe gën ein venster warten, Heinrichs von Meîßen des Frauenlobs Leiche, Sprüche, Streitgedichte und Lieder*, hrsg. von Ludwig Ettmüller, "Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur," VI (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1843), S. 26, Str. II. *Ein vrou daz kleit/ si an ir leit;/ diu vrouwe an ein venster schreit,* *HMS*, III, 427b, Str. XXXII, 2, 3 (von einem ungenannten Dichter). Zur Verkleinerungsendung *-in* siehe Marner, S. 145, Anm. II, 27.

46. *rôter munt* ist hier wörtlich zu verstehen, während es X, 1 in der Bedeutung "junges Mädchen, Geliebte," zu nehmen ist. Es sind zahlreiche Beispiele dieser poetischen Umschreibung in der Mittelhochdeutschen Literatur: *Laurin. Ein tirolisches Heldenmährchen aus dem Anfange des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Karl Müllenhoff (4te Aufl. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912), S. 43, Vv. 952 f.: *dar nâch trete wir einen tanz/ mit manegem rôten mundelîn. Dietrichs erste Ausfahrt,*

hrsg. von Franz Stark, "Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins," LII (Stuttgart, 1860), S. 51, 142:4 f.: *war umb stift ir so grosse not/ an zarten lichten mündlein rot*; S. 64, 177:12 f.: *die edle kunigin/ und vil der lichten mündlein rot*; S. 91, 251:6 ff.: *und vil der zwerglein kleine,/ die dinten ir mit reicher schar/ der edlen kunigin schone/ auch lichte mündlein rosenfar*; S. 134, 366:6 ff.: *ir roselichten münden/ lasst ewre zucht und reichen mut/ in hoher freud und wunnen*; 368:1: *manch mündlein rot in grüset wol*; S. 135, 369: *das manig rosenfarber munt/ an euch legt solchen hohen fleis*; S. 164, 448:4 f.: *wol tausent mündlein rosenrot/ die solten clagen solche not*; S. 180, 491:2 ff.: *da wurden si empfangen schon,/ mit ermlinc weis umbfangen,/ von lichten zarten mündlein rot*. Walther von der Vogelweide, hrsg. von W. Wilmanns, 4te umgearbeitete Aufl. von Victor Michels, "Germanistische Handbibliothek," II (Halle a. S.: Waisenhaus, 1924), 215, 51, 37 f.: *Rôter munt, wie dû dich schwachest! / lâ dîn lachen sîn*, und Anm. zu 51, 37. Ortnit und die Wolfdietriche, nach Müllenhoffs Vorarbeiten, hrsg. von Arthur Amelung und Oskar Jänicke, "Deutsches Heldenbuch," IV. Teil (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), S. 138, VIII, 13, 3 (Wolfdietrich C): *in enphienc weis ougen manec rôtez mündelin*. Engelhard. Eine Erzählung von Konrad von Würzburg, mit Anmerkungen, hrsg. von Moriz Haupt (2te Aufl. besorgt von Eugen Joseph, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1890), S. 84, 287 f.: *rief Engelhart wol drîstunt/ 'schoener roeselehter munt! Seifrid Helbing*, hrsg. und erklärt von Joseph Seemüller (Halle a. S.: Waisenhaus, 1886), S. 119, Lied III, 125: *phuch scheveliers, rôter munt!* S. 331, Anm. zu V, 125. I. V. Zingerle, "Roter munt," *Germania*, IX (1864), 402 f. Heinzelein von Konstanz, hrsg. von Franz Pfeiffer (Leipzig: Weigel, 1852), S. 8, 133 f.: *ich sprach 'dâ hât ein rôter munt/ mîn herze minneclîche verwunt!'*; S. 70, 1800 f.: *ich sprach 'liehtez mündel rô! ich sage dir, wie ez ist getân . . .'*; S. 82, 2125 f.: *daz wil ich dir machen kunt/ roeselehter rôter munt*. Heinrich der Told ruft seine Leute so zum Kampf auf: *nûtrâ, zieren liute! / gedenket an die stunde,/ ob ir von rôtem munde/ ie lieplich sît gegrüezet*, Ottokars Oesterreichische Reimchronik, hrsg. von Joseph Seemüller, *Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters*, "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," V:2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), S. 824, Zz. 62028 ff. Peter Suchenwirts Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Ein Beytrag zur Zeit- und Sittengeschichte, hrsg. von Alois Primisser (Wien: Wallishaußer, 1827), S. 20, VII, 7: *auch hört ir, roten münde chlar*; S. 33, X, 264 f.: *O Ellerwach, O Ellerwach,/ Dein sterben chlagt manik roter munt*. Die altdeutsche Erzählung vom rothen Munde, hrsg. von Adelbert von Keller (Tübingen: Fues, Programm, 1874), S. 20, 352 f.: *Von dem hübschen kinde,/ Daz ist geheissen der rôter munt*.

59 ff. Die Liebe schlägt Wunden, welche die Minne der Frau heilt: Alfred Romain, *Die Lieder Dietmars von Eist* (Leipziger Diss., Halle a. S.: Karras, 1911), S. 11, 32:1: *waz ist für trûren quot,/ daz wîp nach liebem manne hat?* Otto von Botenlauben, *HMS*, I, S. 304, Str. 16: *Daz die wunden/ ungesunden/ mir verbunden/ solten werden/*

von der werden, usw. *Hartmann von Aue, Iwein, der Ritter mit dem Löwen*, hrsg. von Emil Henrici, "Germanistische Handbibliothek," VII (Halle a. S.: Waisenhaus, 1891), S. 77, Vv. 1546 ff.: *wan er was toetlichen wunt/ die wunden sluoc der Minnen hant. Die Gedichte Reinmars von Zweter*, hrsg. von Gustav Roethe (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887), S. 435, Nr 48, Vv. 9 f.: *ir ritter, balsemt iuwer ougen/ an guoten wiben, swâ ir müget! Die Lieder Gottfrieds von Neifen*, hrsg. von Moriz Haupt (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1851), S. 6, Vv. 1 f.: *Lieplich blicken von den wiben freut sende siechen man*; S. 9, V. 1: *das ich sender siecher bin noch fröiden bar!* S. 23, Vv. 28 f.: *Minne, heile mine wunden/ die ich dulde zallen mâlen*; S. 36, Vv. 13 f.: *sit daz mînes herzen wunde/ unverheilet stênt, si heile mich*; S. 38, V. 21; S. 47, V. 5; S. 48, Vv. 8 f. Heinrich von Sax, *HMS*, I, 90b, Str. 6: *mich hat verseret ir vil lichten ougen schin/ mit minnen geschozzen in das sende herze min. Ulrichs von Liechtenstein Frauentienst*, hrsg. von Reinhold Bechstein, "Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters," VI:1 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1888), S. 45 f., Str. 142-45. *Konrads von Würzburg Partonopier und Meliur*, hrsg. von Karl Bartsch (Wien: Braumüller, 1871), S. 360, Nr 8, Vv. 23 f.: *minne diu mac lêren vil êren; ir sêren dienstman/ heilen si mit senfter arzenie kan*; S. 361, Nr 9, Vv. 27 f.: *minne ist jungen liuten für trûren guot/ heilen ir helfe kan/ wunden lip*; S. 365, 13, 14: *ich bin funden wunt von ir; nu mache si mich heil*; auch S. 362, Nr 10, 31 ff.; S. 363, Nr 11, Vv. 24 f. Konrad, Schenk von Landeck, *HMS*, I, 351a: *Es ist min vrouwe, die mich hat verwunt/ der gûete wendet mêre/ die senden herzensêre/ dan wurzen kraft. Konrad, Graf von Kilchberg*, *HMS*, I, 24a, II, Str. 2: *zwei liehtir wengelin waeren guot vûr sende nôt. Der Kanzler*, *HMS*, II, 393a: *minne ir friunden fröude teilet, minne wundet, minne heilet. Herzog Johans von Brabant*, *HMS*, I, 16b, VI, Str. 4: *reiner wibe guete sint für trûren guot. Die Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift und der Mönch von Salzburg. Eine Untersuchung zur Literatur- und Musikgeschichte*, hrsg. von F. Arnold Mayer und Heinrich Rietsch, "Acta Germanica, Organ für deutsche Philologie," IV (Berlin, 1896), S. 261, Nr 30, V. 5: *den frauwen, die vns haben verwunt. Die Gedichte Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, hrsg. von Beda Weber (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1847), S. 159, Nr LIV, 1, 1 ff.: *Mein hertz das ist versêrt . . . und lebt kain artzt auf erd, der mich verheilen kan, nur ain mensch, das mir den schaden hat getân. Liederbuch von Clara Hätzlerin*, hrsg. von Karl Halthaus, "Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur," VIII (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1840), S. 51, Nr 48, V. 28: *Dein lieb hatt mich so gar verwundet*; S. 57, Nr 62, Vv. 19 f.: *Ich wurd gesunt in kurzer stunt/ wâ ich dich fund.*

Der rote Mund verwundet und heilt: *si truoc der minne wâfen einen munt durliuhtic rôt, Wolfram von Eschenbach*, hrsg. von Karl Lachmann (6te Ausg., Berlin und Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1930), *Parzival*, III, S. 71, Str. 130, 4 f. *von ir rôtem munde/ so waer ich an fröiden wol genesen, Walther von der Vogelweide*, hrsg. von W. Wilmanns, "Germanistische Handbibliothek," I (2te Ausg., Halle a. S., 1883),

S. 378, Nr 86, Vv. 8 f. *Die Lieder Gottfrieds von Neifen*, hrsg. von Moriz Haupt (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1851), S. 9, Vv. 20 f.: *wil mir der (d.h. ir minneclicher rôter mund) von herzen lachen/ da von wirde ich senden siecher wol gesunt*; S. 13, Vv. 20 ff.: *wan daz mich ir minne strâle/ in das sende herze schôz/ dast diu unverheilet wunde ob ir trôst mir die verbunde/ mit ir rôsevarwen munde*; S. 28, V. 9: *daz ein kus die nôt enbunde*; S. 49, Vv. 8 ff.: *ir brûnez hâr/ ir ougen klâr,/ ir rôter munt/ hât mich verwunt*. Der von Sachsendorf, *HMS*, I, 300a, I, Str. 2: *sît daz in mîn herze sneit ir rosevarwer rôter munt*. Steinmar, *HMS*, II, 155a, Str. II: *dâ sol nieman arzôt wesen wan der lieben rôter munt*. Wachsmut von Künzich, *HMS*, I, 303b, VI, Str. 2: *alle meister heilent niemer mich, ez tuot ir rôter munt*. Der Taler, *Die Schweizer Minnesinger*, hrsg. von Karl Bartsch, "Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz," VI (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1886), S. 67, I, Vv. 17 f.: *dîn munt verwunt wol tûsentstunt/ hât mich: des bin ich ungesund*. In der Volkspoesie sogar Busserl als Pflaster: *Bein Tag giebls ka Ruah und z'nachts da weckts mi auf,/ Giebst ma ka Pflasterl mit, geh i no drauf,/ Roth muoss das Pflasterl sein, lang und guat, süass und fein,/ Mirk das, a Busserl muass aufg'strichen sein*, Anton Schlossar, *Deutsche Volkslieder aus Steiermark* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1881), S. 194, Nr 168, Str. 4.

Die Idee der Liebewunden und Kuren ist im Volksliede verbreitet: *Es ist gar ka Dokter/ Der mei Krankheit verstund,/ Wann mei Diendl nit will,/ Wer' i niemermehr g'sund*, *Deutsche Liebeslieder des Volkes in Kärnten*, hrsg. von Pogatschnigg und Hermann, "Deutsche Volkslieder aus Kärnten," I (Graz, 1869), S. 38, Nr 182. *sie hout miijn herte bevanghen/ twelc is so seer doortwont/ mocht ic haer troost ontfanghen/ so waer ic garnsch ghesont*, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder*, hrsg. von Ludwig Uhland (Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1844 f.), S. 178, Nr 82, Str. 1, Vv. 5 ff. *Mein Herz ischt verwundt/ Komm Schatzerl, mach mich g'sund*, *Die deutschen Volkslieder*, "Die deutschen Volksbücher," ges. von Karl Simrock, VIII (Basel: Schwabe, o.J.), S. 231, Nr 130, Str. 4.

Für weitere Belege über Minnewunden, Heilung, und Rezepte siehe: W. Wilmanns, *Leben und Dichten Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Bonn: Weber, 1882), S. 195; S. 380, Anm. 226-28; S. 388, Anm. 258. Erich Schmidt, *Reinmar von Hagenau und Heinrich von Rugge. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung*, "Quellen und Forschungen," IV (1874), S. 111 ff.

62 f. *der helt slouf dur den hac:/ aldâ lûht im der tac*. Vgl. *Walter von der Vogelweide*, hrsg. von W. Wilmanns, 4te umgearb. Aufl. von Viktor Michels, "Germanistische Handbibliothek," II (Halle a. S.: Waisenhaus, 1924), S. 324, Nr 90, V. 3: *der rîter dannen schiet*. Ungenanter Dichter, *HMS*, III, S. 425a, XXVIII, Str. 3: *von dannen schiet der küene degên*. *Die Leiche und Lieder des Schenken Ulrich von Winterstetten*, hrsg. von Jakob Minor (Wien: Konegen, 1882), S. 25, V. 34: *er kuste sie und schied von dan* (vereinzelte epische Schlußzeile). *Konrads von Würzburg Partonobier und Me-*

liur, hrsg. von Karl Bartsch (Wien: Braumüller, 1871), S. 367, V. 42: *der ritter dannen trûric kêrte. Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin*, hrsg. von Carl Halthaus, "Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur," VIII (Quedlinburg u. Leipzig: Basse, 1840), S. 3, V. 72: *damit so schiet der helt von dannen. Altdeutsches Liederbuch, Volkslieder der deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von Franz M. Böhme (Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1877), S. 196, Nr 101b, 4 (um das Jahr 1535): *Der knab wol auf sein rösslein sprang,/ er ritt gar bald von dannen*; S. 198, Nr 102a, 3 (um 1542): *Der knab schwang sich über die heid/ Durch den taw*; S. 201, Nr 105; S. 211, Nr 112, 12. Weiter Gustav Roethe zu Walter de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied* (Leipziger Diss., 1887), in *AnzfdA*, XVI (1890), S. 91, 93.

III

16. *dô der tac die wolken spielt*. Vgl. *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, a.a.O., S. 6, Vv. 35 ff.: *ein sumer bringet/ daz mîn munt singet:/ durch wolken dringet/ ein tagender glast*; S. 100, Str. 196, Vv. 10 f.: *der sunnen was gein hoehe gâch/ ir glesten durch die wolken dranc. Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, a.a.O. (s. zu II, 62 f. oben), S. 196, Nr 101a: *Ich sich die morgenrot daher/ wol durch die wolken dringen*. Der Begriff ist wohl der mittelalterlichen Hymnenpoesie entlehnt. Gustav Roethe zu Walter de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied* (Leipziger Diss., 1887), in *AnzfdA*, XVI (1890), 88; 95 f.

19. Die Stelle sollte wohl lauten: *Saelde ie leider mâze wielt*.

20. *Troie wart zerstoeret ê*. Die klassische Motive der Zerstörung Troys durch eine Frau war sehr beliebt. Durch das französische *Roman de Troie* des Benoît de Sainte More führte man den Stoff in Deutschland ein. Herbart von Fritzlar's *Liet von Troja* und Konrad von Würzburgs *Trojanerkrieg* verbreitete ihn. Vgl. folgende Belege: *Heinrichs von Veldeke Eneide*, hrsg. von Otto Behagel (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1882), S. 19, Vv. 469 ff.: *ir hât wale gehôret,/ wie Troie wart testôret/ ende wie et dâ ergienc*. *Heinrichs von Meißen des Frauenlobs Leiche, Sprüche*, usw. a.a.O. (s. oben zu Anm. II, 26 f.), S. 102, Nr 141, V. 12: *Troyâ diu stat und al ir lant wart durch ein wîp zestoeret*. Karl Bartsch, *Gesammelte Vorträge und Aufsätze von Karl Bartsch* (Freiburg i. B. u. Tübingen: Mohr, 1883), S. 274. Derselbe, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der altdeutschen Literatur* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1886), S. 282, V. 25: *ein wîb das schuoff das troy ward/ ein ganzes land verstôret*. *Deutsche Schriften des Albrecht von Eyb*, II. Bd., "Schriften zur Germanischen Philologie," 5tes Heft (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890), S. 47, Z. 21 (Bacchides): *Man sagt vil von troia, wie sy zerstört sey worden*. *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, 2ter Teil, hrsg. von Adelbert von Keller, "Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins," XXIX (1853), S. 850, Vv. 6 f.: *Durch eigenen nutz Rom zerstört/ Von Troi hant wir ouch gehört*; S. 1039, Vv. 21 f.: . . . *durch dschôn Helena zart/ die stat Troy zerstôret ward*.

21. *Tristranden wart von minne dur Isalden dicke wê.* Vgl. *HMS*, III, S. 427b, Str. 3 (Von einem Ungenannten): *Des muoz ich in Tristrams minne varn/ und scheiden von Isalden, die so lustik gar/ in (rehter) liebe (bar)/ haben sich vereinet.*

36. *diu zît meldet, Melde/ kumt, diu selten ie gelac ist richtig.* Vgl. Jakob Minor, *Die Leiche und Lieder des Schenken Ulrich von Winterstetten* (Wien: Konegen, 1882), S. 52, Str. XXVII, Vv. 10 ff.: *uns nâhet balde ein liehter tac/ ich fürhte: Melde nie gelac/ ze solhem dinge.* Diese Personifikation ist also Vrou Melde, "die Fama, welche alles anmeldet und verrät."

39. Schlußstrophe auf *tac* kann Einfluß der romanischen Alba bedeuten. Vgl. Strauch, *Marner*, S. 83 ff. Nr II, Vv. 2 f.; 21; 43; 63, wo andere Anklänge an die Alba zu finden sind. Vgl. auch Karl Bartsch, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, usw., a.a.O. (Anm. III, 20 oben), S. 277. Gustav Roethe zu Walter de Gruyter, a.a.O. (Anm. III, 16 oben), S. 91. Carl von Kraus, *Heinrich von Morungen* (München, 1925), S. 13 f., Lied VI; S. 130.

University of Indiana

SKEPTICISM AND DOGMATISM IN REMY DE GOURMONT

By REINO VIRTANEN

The conception of Remy de Gourmont as an absolute skeptic and "free spirit" is one which Gourmont himself sought to establish in the minds of his readers. "Où je ne suis pas libre, je ne suis plus moi."¹ At a moment when he could hope to win fame in America, it was as an "esprit libre" that he expected to be known.² It is not surprising that many critics have accepted for their own a conception which Gourmont set forth. Following Legrand-Chabrier, Ezra Pound, Aldington, Krutch, and W. R. Crawford,³ Garnet Rees has produced the most comprehensive study of all, built around this central idea.⁴ From his careful and sympathetic work emerges the figure of an impartial lover of ideas and knowledge, of a fair-minded defender of free thought. "La caractéristique fondamentale de son esprit est un scepticisme absolu, non pas un scepticisme indifférent, mais celui d'un sensuel qui refuse d'épouser une seule idée afin de pouvoir les goûter toutes, tour à tour" (p. vii).

Skepticism, as Gourmont uses the term, implies the freedom of the intelligence to deal with all kinds of ideas without yielding itself to any. And it is true that he would have liked to believe that his own mind was absolutely free. Of skepticism in this sense, he regarded Renan as a model.

Ce qui caractérise Renan, c'est . . . le scepticisme absolu de l'homme de méthode qui ne peut admettre comme vrai, provisoirement, que ce que sa méthode lui présente comme tel. Il rejette le lendemain ce qu'il admettait la veille; il n'a de principes que celui de l'examen permanent de toutes choses (*Epilogues*, III, 205).

Gourmont defines skepticism as freedom from dogma, from the "horrible mania of certitude." "La certitude est une maladie essentiellement populaire, si l'on appelle peuple . . . tout ce qui pense en troupeau . . ." (*Epilogues*, II, 84). It has for him a connotation

¹ *Promenades littéraires*, VI (1926), 8. Unless otherwise indicated, references to the works of Gourmont are to the usual *Mercur* de France editions.

² In a letter to Pound, agreeing to collaborate in the *Little Review* (1915), printed in Pound, *Instigations* (New York, 1920), p. 192, and in *Make It New* (New Haven, 1935), p. 330. Cf. René Taupin, *L'Influence du symbolisme français sur la poésie américaine (de 1910 à 1920)* (Paris, 1929), pp. 259-60.

³ These writers are cited below.

⁴ Garnet Rees, *Remy de Gourmont, Essai de biographie intellectuelle* (Paris, 1940), especially pp. 134 f., 173 f., 195, 278.

of superiority to those who do not cultivate ideas, as he claimed to do, for their esthetic value.⁵

Gourmont's profession of "ce scepticism par excès d'aptitudes à sentir"⁶ has inclined many of his readers to accept this description. With all the intellectual flexibility which, one must agree, he displayed in his writings, it is possible to find limits to the "free activity" of his mind, as it is possible to find limits to his skepticism.⁷ Because he tended to identify the two,⁸ the analysis of his conception of the free intelligence must proceed hand in hand with the study of his skepticism.

THE SUBJECTIVE-IDEALIST PHASE

To define these limits, we cannot take his ideas as something formulated once and for all. His attitudes and ideas underwent considerable change. But in the earlier, subjective-idealist phase we can already find that dread of committing himself which marks his later periods. We find, too, a certain dualism of thought and action from which he never escapes. What has been considered his first significant work appeared in 1890, under the title *Sixtine: Roman de la vie cérébrale*. Dedicated to Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, it shows clearly the influence of that misanthropic idealist.⁹ It consists largely of the self-analysis of the dreamy young Hubert d'Entragues. Hubert soliloquizes in Sixtine's hearing as well as alone, and it is natural she should feel she is not a necessary party. One step this side of solipsism, he tells her:

Si je ne suis pas mon propre juge, qui me jugera, et si je me déplaïs à moi-même que m'importe de plaire à autrui? Quel autrui? Y a-t-il un monde de vie extérieure à moi-même? C'est possible, mais je ne le connais pas. Le monde, c'est moi, il me doit l'existence, je l'ai créé avec mes sens, il est mon esclave et nul sur lui n'a de pouvoir (p. 13).

Hubert d'Entragues' resemblance to the Axël of Villiers is evident in such remarks as these: "L'existence fausse les âmes. Nous ne sommes pas faits pour la vie, une tromperie nous la donne, une duperie nous la conserve" (p. 20). "De quoi donc me servirait la

⁵ "Seul le scepticisme est noble" (*Epilogues*, vol. complémentaire, p. 81). "L'exercice de la pensée est un jeu, mais il faut que ce jeu soit libre et harmonieux. . . . La beauté, tel est peut-être son seul mérite possible" (*Une Nuit au Luxembourg*, p. 117).

⁶ *Promenades littéraires*, I, 98. Cf. Legrand-Chabrier: "Il n'est sceptique que pour ne pas s'arrêter en chemin de toute idée, quelle qu'elle soit" (*Remy de Gourmont: son oeuvre*, nouvelle revue critique [Paris, 1928], p. 40).

⁷ Jean-Albert Bédé has noted "le fonds d'absolu qui subsiste dans ses relations. La disponibilité totale n'est pas son fait. . ." (*Romanic Review*, XXXIII [April, 1942], 82).

⁸ Rees points out, comparing him with Renan: ". . . leur scepticisme était, avant tout, un mode de jouissance" (*op. cit.*, p. 153).

⁹ P. E. Jacob, *Remy de Gourmont* (Urbana, 1931), p. 64; Richard Aldington, *Remy de Gourmont, a Modern Man of Letters*, University of Washington Chapbooks (Seattle, 1928), p. 23.

réalité, quand j'ai le rêve et la faculté de me protéiser, de posséder toutes les formes de la vie, tous les états d'âme, où l'homme se diversifie" (p. 27).

Although one may question the Gourmontian Dr. Voivenel's credentials as a scientific psychologist, his book *Remy de Gourmont vu par son médecin* offers some suggestive comments on this point. Gourmont is, Voivenel observes, of the "cerebral" type, and disposed toward the sublimation of his desires.¹⁰ The character of Hubert d'Entraques would seem to be largely autobiographical. The timidity of the youth as we see it revealed in the *Journal intime*¹¹ becomes in *Sixtine* the more refined reserve of the developed introvert. His bent for solitude and detachment was accentuated by an attack of tubercular lupus leading to a facial disfigurement.

. . . il se réfugie de plus en plus dans cette cérébration dont l'action physiologique . . . est d'éteindre les impulsions de la moelle et de troubler la voie des réflexes périphériques de la sexualité. . . . La vie pour être superbement chantée, demande à ne pas être vécue. Remy de Gourmont montre, une fois de plus, l'antinomie entre l'instinct de vie et l'instinct de connaissance (p. 77).

The articles collected under the title *L'Idéalisme* are similar in content to the musings of Hubert, but they go farther in the direction of conscious immoralism. Gourmont agrees with Nietzsche, or what he then thought was Nietzsche: ". . . l'idéalisme est une doctrine immorale et désespérante; anti-sociale et anti-humaine. . . ." ¹² There is a suggestion of nihilism in the phrases in which he sets forth his conception of the relativity that prevails in the world outside the self, in the world of morals and society:

on ne connaît que sa propre intelligence, que soi, seule réalité. . . . Convaincu que tout est transitoire, hormis sa pensée, qui est éternelle; convaincu qu'il est . . . impénétrablement seul . . . l'idéaliste se désintéresse de toutes les relativités telles que la morale, la patrie, les traditions, ces notions reléguées dans le domaine pratique . . . (*Le Chemin de velours*, p. 215).

It is the nihilism of the esthete who still clings with melancholy bravado to the one surviving Absolute, Art: "Pratiquons-le encore, mais en secret, en des catacombes, comme les premiers chrétiens, comme les derniers païens" (p. 218). But art itself partakes of the qualities of the Absolute only in being the object of a cult. "L'Art . . . est donc, de même que l'individu lui-même, anormal, illogique et incompréhensible" (p. 229).

¹⁰ Paul Voivenel, *Remy de Gourmont vu par son médecin*, Éditions du siècle (Paris, 1924), p. 65. Cf. Havelock Ellis, *From Rousseau to Proust* (Boston, 1935), p. 323.

¹¹ *Journal intime et inédit du feu Remy de Gourmont*, recueilli par son frère, François Bernouard (Paris, 1923).

¹² *Le Chemin de velours*, p. 214. Gourmont's conception of Nietzsche at this time (up to 1894) was summed up in what he called "néronisme mental." By 1900, he recognized this interpretation to be an error, having been enabled by Henri Albert's translations to know him better. See *La Culture des idées*, p. 269, and note 2. He himself became less of a "néroniste."

We do not find in this period of extreme subjectivism the ironic detachment marking the skeptical phase to follow. But the relativism and the disenchantment which are elements in skepticism are salient features. There is already evident, too, a dogmatic counterfoil to Gourmont's skepticism, in the "morphological" determinism which dictates even the artist's vision of the world (p. 221).

THE TRANSITION FROM SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM

The general direction of Gourmont's development was away from the extreme subjectivism of his first years, when the outer world hardly mattered, toward a more objective conception of the world and his place in it. Escoube sees him proceeding gradually from literature, from Symbolism, to life and reality.¹³ Legrand-Chabrier speaks of "une marche très certaine de Remy de Gourmont à la conquête de la plus noble des sérénités humaines."¹⁴ Writing of *Les Chevaux de Diomède*, Francis de Miomandre declares:

[C'est] un livre de transition où le poète symboliste, par d'insensibles mouvements, se transforme en un écrivain plus mûr. . . . Il contient en germe pour ainsi dire toute l'oeuvre future . . . du critique des mœurs . . . du philosophe.¹⁵

If we do not look beyond *Une Nuit au Luxembourg* (1906), we see this transition as one from subjective idealism toward a kind of epicurean skepticism, from a "religion of art" to dilettantism. Marcel Coulon has said: "Cet idéaliste transcendant [est devenu] un positiviste entier."¹⁶ Of the positivist, there is as yet little indication, but the idealist is still conspicuous. For example: ". . . le corps n'est que la manifestation visible de l'âme, ainsi extériorisée selon son pouvoir de créer la matière et les mondes" (*Les Chevaux de Diomède*, p. 61). Even more striking, and more significant for Gourmont's later development, is the following:

Toute idée qui se réalise, se réalise laide. Il faut séparer les deux domaines: l'instinct guidera les actes; et la pensée, délivrée de la crainte des déformations basses, s'épanouira libre et seule selon la beauté énorme de sa nature absolue (p. 245).

Diomède tries to practice his dilettantism—"sans autres abandons que ceux de la chair et ceux de l'esprit" (p. 232). "Vous vous prêtez toujours, c'est bien cela que vous ne vous donnez jamais," Néobelle tells him (p. 123). Influenced by her, he finally does surrender to emotion, but even in this violation of his program, he justifies himself in accordance with its terms: ". . . il faut que j'éprouve tous les sentiments aussi bien que toutes les sensations" (p. 232). Diomède

¹³ Paul Escoube, *Remy de Gourmont et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1926), p. 80 f.

¹⁴ Legrand-Chabrier, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁵ Francis de Miomandre, "Remy de Gourmont," *Revue de Paris*, XXIII (January, 1916), 140.

¹⁶ Marcel Coulon, *L'Enseignement de Remy de Gourmont*, Éditions du siècle (Paris, 1925), p. 60.

speaks for Gourmont himself when he declares, "Rien ne doit me surprendre, mais rien ne doit m'être indifférent."

Diomède represents an attitude toward life which Hubert d'Enragues could conceivably have reached by following a certain path of development. From the introvert, whose will to act is weakened by introspection, to the ironic sensualist, the dividing line is not impassable — for Gourmont himself passed through such a change. D'Enragues had come to grief because of a conflict between his emotions and his disposition to analysis. Diomède tries to avoid any such conflict by suppressing any emotion that might commit him irrevocably to some particular moral destiny.

Je ne veux pas croire; je ne veux pas aimer; je ne veux pas souffrir; je ne veux pas être heureux; je ne veux pas être dupe. Je regarde, j'observe, je juge, je souris (p. 34).

Robert Greslou, the character in Bourget's *Le Disciple*, was a victim of the *dédoublement* between life and thought. The whole structure of *Les Chevaux de Diomède*, with its motto, "L'acte ne doit pas être pensé, la pensée ne doit pas être agie," is centered around this and related themes. This book, like the other stories of Gourmont, is characterized by a lack of the purposive element. Gourmont possesses little of that ability of the true novelist—to describe action. This in itself is significant.

It is interesting to consider in the light of this duality of thought and action the statement made in Gourmont's preface to the book:

On trouvera dans ce livre, qui est un petit roman d'aventures possibles, la pensée, l'acte, le songe, la sensualité exposés sur le même plan et analysés avec une pareille bonne volonté. C'est que, décidément, l'homme est un tout où l'analyse retrouve mal la dualité de l'âme et du corps. L'âme est un mode et le corps est un mode, mais indistincts et fondus; l'âme est corporelle et le corps est spirituel (p. 1).

Gourmont thinks he has surmounted the dualism of mind and matter only to fall into it again in another form, the dualism of thought and action.

There is an essay, almost of the same date of composition as *Les Chevaux de Diomède*, in *Analyses et fragments*, which can serve as a basis for the novel. Seizing upon one of the theories of Ribot, and misapplying it, he writes:

M. Ribot, avec quelques autres philosophes, en concluant à un automatisme relatif, dénie à la conscience un rôle important. Conscient ou inconscient, l'homme agirait de même; il n'y aurait rien de changé dans ses rapports avec ses semblables; la civilisation en serait au même point.¹⁷

Gourmont wavers between the notion that conscious mind is not indispensable to the life of action and the notion that it is harmful

¹⁷ In *Le Chemin de velours*, essay dated 1894, p. 297.

to this life. In either case, the mind is left only the role of spectator. Diomède is a type of the spectator whom we meet again, now come to middle age, in the persons of M. Delarue and M. Desmaisons in the *Dialogues des amateurs*.

Diomède endeavors to maintain his *disponibilité* for experience, as Gourmont himself at a later moment seeks in skepticism an escape from intellectual bondage. "Ainsi je serais dupe de mes principes et je souffrirais qu'un souci de logique me dictât ma conduite?" (p. 232). Diomède overestimates the degree of freedom he has attained. And he expresses the same assurance of his own audacity in the realm of thought as is so often voiced by his creator. One suspects this assurance is not free from delusion. "Are you ready to go to the conclusion of your theories?" he is asked. He answers, "Not today, it would be too far." A survey of these theories shows that he both exaggerates the distance and evades the test of measurement.

The dilettantism of Diomède involves a negation of ethics, of any moral law above the individual.

L'être le plus moral est, non pas celui qui subit docilement la loi, mais celui qui, s'étant créé une loi individuelle, conforme à sa propre nature et à son propre génie, se réalise selon cette loi dans la mesure de ses forces et des obstacles que lui impose la société (p. 61).

Diomède, like Sandy Rose of *Une Nuit au Luxembourg*, regards his life, an unstable compound of the sensual and the cerebral, as a work of art. This immoralism corresponds in the field of ethics to the relativism, stemming from subjective idealism, which Gourmont expresses in the words: "Chaque opinion est une vérité, et chaque opinion et chaque vérité est la bonne et la vraie Vérité" (*Epilogues*, I, 16, dated December, 1895). It is in this spirit that he quotes Schopenhauer's dictum, "The world is my representation," as a motto for his *Livres des masques*. From this relativism, which asserts the validity of all points of view, it would be only a step to the position that there is no truth.

GOURMONT AS SKEPTIC

"Douter qu'il y ait une vérité . . . j'inclinerais assez de ce côté."¹⁸ This sentiment is in harmony with his usual mood when discussing the question during the years up to 1906 when *Une Nuit au Luxembourg* was produced. But as an idea, it cannot be taken literally. When Gourmont uses the word *vérité*, we must consider whether he is reacting to its use in an absolute, metaphysical sense by some exponent of an "ideology," or whether he is employing it in a more everyday sense. The iconoclastic tone of certain statements, such as that on certitude cited above, is part of the context of the controversies, like the Dreyfus Case, which inspire them.

¹⁸ *Dissociations*, Éditions du siècle (Paris, 1925), p. 74.

In his most skeptical writings, as for example the third volume of *Epilogues* (1902-1904), he distinguishes between the truth of exact science, of observation and experience, and the "truth" of metaphysics, social philosophy, and religion. "La vérité, c'est ce que l'on croit. Le seul critère, dès qu'il s'agit de ce qui échappe à l'expérience ou à l'observation, c'est la croyance" (*Epilogues*, III, 68). The reason for a belief lies in its utility for the believer. "Par delà le vrai et le faux, on trouve l'utile" (p. 224). Gourmont never leaves subjective idealism completely behind:

Le monde étant connu par l'esprit, non tel qu'il est, mais tel que l'esprit se le représente d'après les données des sens, autant de cerveaux, autant de mondes différents. . . . De là, la diversité des opinions, et de là, l'inanité de la notion vérité (p. 174).

His skepticism is far from being a pure exercise in negations. He associates himself with the disciples of Hobbes and Nietzsche, the "athées réalistes . . . hommes sans principes, sans morale, sans idéal, . . . pour qui la vie est une mer inconnue où il faut naviguer à la sonde. Il n'y a plus de portulans" (p. 151). These realists do not seek truth, nor the Isles of Paradise. They endeavor to avoid error, knowing, however, that error is not the contrary of truth and may have its merits. This passage, like many others, is directed against the "cult of Reason" believers in human equality and progress. Elsewhere he criticizes believers in the religious camp. "Pourquoi ne pas le dire, la seule conversion que je comprenne est celle qui, de la foi où le hasard nous a fait naître, nous ramène, par le travail de la vie et de l'étude dans les voies saines et honnêtes du scepticisme" (*Epilogues*, volume complémentaire, p. 119).

He does not always adopt the title of skeptic so readily. "Je crois que la plupart des idées sont à la fois justes et fausses et que cela dépend du milieu. . . . Justes pour moi, en ce moment; fausses pour moi pour le quart d'heure. Est-ce du scepticisme . . . ? C'est surtout de la loyauté."¹⁹ This concern for *nuances*, which he finds so marked in Renan and Montaigne, has been stressed by writers defending him from the charge of skepticism.²⁰ It appears that the divergence of views in regard to this point is due to variant conceptions of what constitutes skepticism. Analysis could bring out something of this divergence in the citations from Gourmont himself, but it is clearer in the comments of his critics. For Gourmont, skepticism signifies essentially the *disponibilité* of the mind. This is the point made by Legrand-Chabrier and Rees. Sometimes, however, his phrasing sug-

¹⁹ *Le Puits de la vérité*, Société des Trente (Paris, 1922), p. 69.

²⁰ Gourmont on Renan in *Epilogues*, III, 207. Cf. Coulon: "Sceptique non, mais délicat à la nuance et à la relativité" (*op. cit.*, p. 77). René Lalou asserts: "Ses négations puisaient leur force non point dans le scepticisme mais dans l'assurance d'un reclassement méthodique des idées après leur dissociation" (*L'Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine* [Paris, 1923], p. 292).

gests little more than the methodological skepticism of Descartes. This is the way Lalou sees it. At other times he tends to identify it with a complete rejection of metaphysics and theology, so that it approximates atheism. "Je ne dis pas le doute, je dis la non-croyance" (*Epilogues*, vol. comp., p. 119). Then again, there are the passages in which he avows the belief that all knowledge is uncertain: "Nous qui respirons dans l'incertitude de l'art, dans l'incertitude de la science . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 119). "La vie est une mer inconnue où il faut naviguer à la sonde." It is in such statements that he approaches most closely the general acceptance of skepticism. His frequent but always brief ventures into the region "beyond true and false," as when he equates truth and illusion,²¹ have led writers like Joseph Wood Krutch to speak of the "nihilism" of Remy de Gourmont: "It was toward such a completely fragmentary mental world in which no fact had any relation to any other fact and no lesson could be drawn from any premise that de Gourmont was headed."²²

Nevertheless, he was not, on the one hand, a nihilist or Pyrrhonist, nor was he, on the other hand, an exponent of the Cartesian method of doubt, engaged in sifting and winnowing to find a truth in which he could wholeheartedly believe. He was something between the two, but he was also a dilettante of ideas, and it is this complexity which explains the divergence of views regarding him held by various writers. He was not a complete Pyrrhonist, for his most extreme statements on the nonexistence of objective truth unwittingly concede its existence. An example of this is found in *Une Nuit au Luxembourg*: "Je ne vous dirai donc pas la vérité, parce qu'il n'y a pas de concordance possible entre votre esprit servi par vos sens et ce qui est extérieur à vos sens" (p. 62). Another example shows his disposition to think that truth, to be, must be static: ". . . il n'y a pas de vérité, puisque le monde est en perpétuel changement" (p. 58). Aside from that, his conviction concerning determinism belies his Pyrrhonic declarations. But if he is not a thoroughgoing skeptic, it is his skepticism and dilettantism which come to the fore at critical junctures of his thought. This is especially notable whenever he approaches the crux of the problem of the role of consciousness in life, or the relation of thought to action.

His "dissociation of ideas" provides illustration of the difficulties he found in the problem of thought and action. Set forth in *La Culture des idées* and *Le Chemin de velours*, this is a method of analysis which Gourmont made peculiarly his own. "L'homme associe des idées non pas selon la logique, selon l'exactitude vérifiable, mais selon son plaisir et son intérêt" (*La Culture des idées*, p. 78). And man

²¹ E.g., *Une Nuit au Luxembourg*, p. 61. Cf. p. 173.

²² "The Nihilism of Remy de Gourmont," *Nation*, vol. 127, October 10, 1928, p. 357.

refuses to associate other ideas—such, for example, as death and nothingness. The aim of the dissociation of ideas is to purify them of everything that is accidental or derived from prejudice.

Because language cannot be a perfect reflection of reality, Gourmont lays such stress on the deficiencies that successful communication takes on the aspect of a miracle. Language is a source of delusion. It is essentially "mensonge."²³ Here the analyst chooses a word not for its freedom from emotional connotation, but precisely because its connotation is shocking to the common mind. In a similar way, Gourmont ironically uses the word "vérité" to signify any proposition generally accepted as "true," whether objectively true or not.

Une vérité est morte lorsqu'on a constaté que les rapports qui lient ses éléments sont des rapports d'habitude et non de nécessité; . . . la mort d'une vérité est un grand bienfait pour les hommes . . . (*La Culture des idées*, p. 87).

The meaning given to the word is consistent with the denial of objective truth already cited.²⁴

The abstract and idealistic turn of his conception of dissociation is evident in his illustration of the process. Discussing the association of the concept of "honor" with the concept of "soldier," he notes how a military scandal suddenly broke up this association, how for a moment there was purity in the concept but how this was lost again as the idea of dishonor became attached. "Malheureusement, après cet effort vers l'idée les vieilles habitudes mentales retrouvèrent leur empire" (p. 87). The "old mental habits" cannot be corrected by the fiat of a logician, any more than the social conditions with which they are linked can thus be caused to change. And because this is so, he seems to lose patience with the everyday world and its "vieilles habitudes mentales," and abandons it to the dominion of illusion. Life and thinking proceed on different planes.

"Il y a un écart énorme entre le sens vulgaire d'un mot et la signification réelle qu'il a au fond des obscures consciences verbales" (p. 96). Mallarmé was engaged in purifying his language so as to leave radiant and clear only this "real significance." The conception of dissociation is an idealistic one, as Gourmont employs it, quite in harmony with the subjective idealism of his Symbolist esthetic. Gourmont assumes, with Mallarmé, that analysis of words which divests them of mundane associations and connotations will lead us to the basic meaning or the essence of the word. They confer a mystical rightness on the word thus purified. Words bear different aspects to the initiate and to the laity. Gourmont's dissociation of

²³ In "La Femme et le langage" in *Le Chemin de velours*. Cf.: "Cependant nous nous comprenons. C'est un miracle" (*La Culture des idées*, p. 97).

²⁴ Cf. "l'inanité de la notion vérité" (*Epilogues*, III, 174).

ideas is based on the presupposition that pure concepts have a reality of their own.²⁵ And only the dispassionate thinker, the intellectual aristocrat who is unaffected by vital needs, is capable of pure ideas. They become corrupted in the practical world.

Gourmont claimed to make of dissociation a sort of universal solvent which could be applied freely against all linkages. My discussion so far has taken Gourmont's notion of the "free intelligence" at face value. But this free intelligence often took a line not differing from that of other minds which made no claim to absolute freedom. Whatever the uses it served elsewhere, the dissociation of ideas, as the first essay explaining it reveals, was not without connection with the Dreyfus Case. Among his favorite objects for dissociation are the notions of justice, liberty, progress. The method served a purpose—the defense of his free intelligence against "the Philistines." It is this use of dissociation which makes the volume of *Épilogues* covering 1899 distinctly anti-Dreyfusard, despite the author's claims to being "ni anti-patriote ni nationaliste." Dissociation reveals Nietzsche's two moralities in operation in the Dreyfus Case—the Herd Morality of abstract justice based on sentiment, in conflict with the realist's morality grounded in force. His dissociation of ideas became a weapon against the "intellectuels" and Dreyfusards who stood for the abstraction, the "impure" idea of justice.²⁶ Charles Maurras and Lucien Corpechot realized this fact, and were only disappointed because Gourmont refrained from playing an active role against the Dreyfusards.²⁷

Corpechot appreciated Gourmont's criticism of what Maurras called the *nuées* of democracy, socialism, Protestantism (pp. 221-22). Such an essay as "La Valeur de l'instruction," in *Le Chemin de velours*, is not just an exercise in dissociation for its own sake, but is an attack from the vantage point of disillusioned skepticism on the

²⁵ Gourmont's analysis tends toward a kind of conceptual atomism. It is not for nothing that his method is explained in metaphors borrowed from natural science—dissociation, affinities, repulsion. We recognize here a tendency that could be pointed out in other parts of Gourmont's thinking: a mechanical application to psychology, society, and literary criticism of ideas derived from natural or physical science. "Semblables aux atomes d'Épicure, les idées s'accrochent comme elles peuvent, au hasard des rencontres, des chocs et des accidents" (*Épilogues*, III, 104).

²⁶ *Épilogues*, II, 14, 18, 64, 83, 90 f., 158, 189, 238. "L'origine de cette idée complexe, bâtarde et hypocrite, doit donc être cherchée dans l'Évangile, dans le 'malheur aux riches' des démagogues juifs" (*La Culture des idées*, p. 93). "Le militaire est demeuré en France, malgré de récentes objections, le type même de l'homme d'honneur. Les deux idées . . . forment une vérité qui n'est guère contestée, à l'heure actuelle [Nov., 1899], que par des esprits d'une autorité médiocre ou d'une sincérité douteuse" (*ibid.*, p. 86).

²⁷ Lucien Corpechot, *Souvenirs d'un journaliste* (Paris, 1936), pp. 237-81. He held himself aloof, but his attitude was not a neutral one, as Rees appears to think (*op. cit.*, p. vii). Cf. *Promenades littéraires*, VII, 211, 215, dated February and September, 1899. It is true that afterwards he admits Zola was justified (*Épilogues*, III, 103).

whole system and philosophy of popular education under the Third Republic. Only the *élite* are capable of true education and culture. Intelligence is a faculty which the few can cultivate for their own individual delectation, not a force that can be directed for social ends.

Thought is a faculty that grew up in the evolutionary process, but Gourmont's understanding of the process is not a consistently evolutionary one. "L'intelligence n'est peut-être qu'une maladie, une belle maladie: la perle de l'huître."²⁸ "L'intelligence est le luxe de la vie, luxe dangereux pour la vie qu'elle contemple avec des yeux de méduse et de basilic" (p. 127). Thought is a kind of by-product of biological evolution which appeared ages ago and has not evolved since.²⁹ He exaggerates the generally accepted distinction between pure science and applied science in such a way as to do violence to plain and familiar fact:

Pour apprécier sainement le rôle de la science, il faut séparer la science pure de la science appliquée. Il y eut toujours une science pratique; son développement suit non pas celui de la science théorique, mais celui de la richesse; . . . Les grandes découvertes pratiques ne sont presque jamais scientifiques, elles sont empiriques.³⁰

Gourmont, as the self-appointed defender of science, aids the prosecution in his description of science as "le besoin de savoir étouffant le besoin de vivre . . . le génie de la connaissance disséquant tout vivant le génie vital" (p. 128).

This antinomy of thought and life is the basis of the antinomy between science and art. Gourmont undoubtedly was encouraged in this notion by Jules de Gaultier (p. 123). "L'art, et le plus désintéressé, le plus désincarné est . . . la fleur de la vie et, graine, il redonne de la vie." Science, on the other hand, has its end in itself, "toute idée de vie et de propagation d'espèce écartée" (pp. 123-24). There are certain recurrent contradictions in Gourmont which bear a fundamental significance in his development. Such is his attitude toward intelligence, which is sometimes conceived as the freest thing in the world, sometimes as bound to its physiological substructure.³¹ In neither case is it allowed a constructive role.

The very fact that thought was for him a game served to make this ambivalence possible. He wrote in *Lettres à l'Amazone* that he

²⁸ *Promenades philosophiques*, III (1909), 280.

²⁹ René Quinton's "Law of constancy of temperature" is used to support Gourmont's theory of "constance intellectuelle" (*Promenades philosophiques*, II, 1 f.). Gourmont thought the higher body temperature of the bird proved that man was not the preordained goal of evolution. He evidently believed that the validity of the idea of progress, which he always confused with the theory of preordained progress, depends on whether or not it can be demonstrated that *homo sapiens* is the highest form of animal life in all the details of anatomy.

³⁰ *Promenades philosophiques*, I, 125-26.

³¹ *Epilogues*, III, 230.

considered contradictions to be necessary for emotional and intellectual equilibrium (p. 223). Novelty and variety are pursued for their own sake. Gourmont does not resolve contradictions to reach a higher level of understanding, but shuttles back and forth between them. Consider his statement: "Idéalisme veut dire matérialisme: et à l'inverse, matérialisme veut dire idéalisme."³² Gourmont has provided, in an essay in *Le Problème du style*, a sidelight on this ambivalence of ideas. He names Villiers de l'Isle-Adam as an eloquent and convinced Hegelian. "Il nous a familiarisés avec la notion de l'identité des contraires, à laquelle plusieurs jeunes écrivains doivent d'avoir gardé un certain équilibre intellectuelle et le sens du désintéressement ironique" (pp. 157, 158). Hegel would be the first to protest against this bland reduction of his system to Pyrrhonic relativism.

The attainment of this "ironic disinterestedness" was one of the aims of his dissociation of ideas.

Avec les débris d'une vérité, on peut faire une autre vérité 'identiquement contraire,' travail qui ne serait qu'un jeu, mais encore excellent comme tous les exercices qui assouplissent l'intelligence et l'acheminement vers l'état de noblesse dédaigneuse où elle doit aspirer (*La Culture des idées*, p. 76).

It has already been seen that his was not a position of absolute neutrality. André Gide once called attention to the lack of any basic opposition between Desmaisons and Delarue in the *Dialogues des amateurs*.³³ Now this is a curious fact, for the dialogue is the classic form for the presentation of opposition in ideas, and Gourmont ought to be particularly adept in such a genre. But the truth is he did not bring the contradictions in his thinking and attitudes into any fruitful confrontation. It is such things as his ideas on religion, uniformly anti-Christian, and his observations of the follies of ordinary mankind, uniformly ironic, which find expression in the *Dialogues*, never the basic contradictions.

GOURMONT AS DOGMATIST

Émile Faguet has referred to the "dogmatic skepticism" of Gourmont.³⁴ The separation in this paper of these two aspects is made for purposes of emphasis. The skeptical and dogmatic elements in Gourmont, polar opposites as they seem, occur closely intertwined. This can be shown in his attacks on "ideology." As an admirer of Epicurus, he extolled the "eternal paganism" he found in Catholicism, but, like Nietzsche, he opposed Christianity and especially Protestantism. He was inclined to suspect any intellectual conviction in the field of philosophy as harboring the seeds of theology. He shows penetration when he writes:

³² *Le Chemin de velours*, p. 105.

³³ André Gide, "L'Amateur" de M. Remy de Gourmont, *La Nouvelle Revue française*, III (1910), 430.

³⁴ Faguet, *Propos littéraires*, V^{me} série (Paris, 1910), p. 265.

Je crois que toute philosophie qui n'est pas purement scientifique, c'est-à-dire négative des métaphysiques, aboutit, en fin de compte, à renforcer le christianisme sous la forme où il domine dans les différentes nations. La plupart des personnes qui croient s'intéresser à ce qu'elles appellent les grands problèmes sont mues par un souci intéressé et tout égoïste.³⁵

But he extended this condemnation to all who would make science more than a pure commentary on events,³⁶ to all who are beset by the "mania of certitude." It was doubtless inconsistent for him who held happiness to be the only proper end in life to censure others for this motive. His dissociation test labeled them all exponents or victims of ideology—whether they were socialists or Kantians, Protestants or English Utilitarians.³⁷ For a writer who went so far in his defense of free thought as to defend his own right to self-contradiction, he was remarkably consistent in denying the validity of belief in progress, justice, democracy—indeed of almost any attempt to apply reason to reality with a view to improving it. His skepticism thus became a weapon for the dogmatist in him, just as the positivism of Comte, which had the avowed purpose of liberating the human mind from the thralldom of fetishes and absolutes, was actually used to set limits upon thinking. His use of the terms theological and metaphysical seems, in fact, to be inspired by Comte.

The ideas of Gourmont encouraged a number of Anglo-Saxons, led by Ezra Pound and Richard Aldington, in their reaction against Puritanism.³⁸ The dissociation of moral ideas gave them an illusion of independence from social conventions and social problems. But Gourmont's studied avoidance of economic science³⁹ left him resourceless in the face of problems involving a larger area of reality. His method of dissociation could exert an ostensibly liberating influence on readers who fancied themselves oppressed by the tyranny of moral commonplaces.⁴⁰ But in practice, it promoted ethical nihilism. Desmairs rather liked the idea of a new "deluge," thinking he had but to retire to the "montagnes d'ironie" (*Dialogues des amateurs*, p. 300). When the "deluge" came, however, in 1914, Gourmont's reaction, as seen in *Pendant l'orage*, revealed the illusory character of his kind of freedom. He had assailed reformers and legislators for "interfering" with the natural processes by which society develops its customs.⁴¹ Here dissociation consisted in dissociating the intelligence from social reality. His conservatism takes justification from skepticism. "Suivre la coutume, non parce qu'elle

³⁵ *Epilogues*, vol. complémentaire, p. 128 f.

³⁶ *Promenades philosophiques*, I, 128 f., 133.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 140; *Epilogues*, III, 210.

³⁸ Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 273 f. Also René Taupin, "The Example of Remy de Gourmont," *The Criterion*, X (July, 1931), 616 f.

³⁹ *Lettres à l'Amazone*, pp. 219-20. "Les conditions sociales ne me conviennent pas comme sujet de méditation."

⁴⁰ Cf. Oscar Cargill, *Intellectual America* (New York, 1941), p. 226.

⁴¹ *Dialogues des amateurs*, pp. 231-32.

est juste, mais parce qu'elle est la coutume."⁴² Like the positivists of the Right led by Maurras, he saw society in terms of biological or physical analogies. "Il faudrait laisser la société sécréter ses usages . . . comme un arbre."⁴³ More individualistic than Maurras, he could also say, "La société est un archipel."⁴⁴

With his increased attention to natural science, signalized by his work on the *Revue des idées* beginning in 1903, his mechanistic determinism became strengthened, if it did not fundamentally change. To the determinism of individual morphology he had entertained as a subjective idealist was added that of geology and ethnology. Mind became more and more an epiphenomenon, reflecting but not influencing material conditions. His notion of intellectual constancy suggested by Quinton was combined with the equally unscientific determinism of soil and race⁴⁵ to form an amalgam which deprived his vaunted liberty of thought of all basis except illusion. All this was offered in the name of science and fact. The word *fait* superseded the word *vérité*, which, being freighted with metaphysical connotations, Gourmont had made but an ironic synonym for *opinion*. He presents some rather questionable ideas under the coloration of scientific objectivity.

Thus he finds that the belief in human progress is "unscientific." "L'évolution est un fait et le progrès est un sentiment. . . . C'est enfermer une idée religieuse dans une théorie mécanique,"⁴⁶ he declares, again revealing his mechanistic preconception. During the Dreyfus Case, he felt that people could not change their views without a change in their "système sensitif."⁴⁷ This "morphological determinism" is not a momentary vagary suggested by the unusual state of mind prevailing during the Dreyfus Case, but one of those crystallizations of his thought which strikingly reveal his basic prepossessions. In an extreme form, it is seen in his remark on Darwin which shows him agreeing with Maurras: "L'erreur sur laquelle Darwin basa sa fameuse théorie doit consister en ceci, qu'étant un savant saxon, il n'avait pas le concept précis, mathématique, latin, de ce que c'est que l'espèce."⁴⁸

His theory of the determinism of the sensory system finds an extension in *Le Problème du style*. He scarcely avoided paradox in developing his division between the two varieties of minds, the "visuel" and the "idéo-émotif." One feels that he would have liked

⁴² Thus Gourmont takes the *pyrrhonisme* of Pascal, without the Christianity (*Epilogues*, III, 175).

⁴³ *Dialogues des amateurs*, p. 232. Cf. Barrès, *Les Déracinés* (Paris, 1897) and the tree of Taine.

⁴⁴ *Epilogues*, III, 71. This analogy is more characteristic.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 46 f. Cf. "le noble patriotisme de l'espèce," p. 130.

⁴⁶ *Promenades philosophiques*, II, 94.

⁴⁷ *Epilogues*, II, 66.

⁴⁸ *Dernières pensées inédites* (Paris, 1924), without pagination.

to equate the "visuel" with the *élite*, the "idéo-émotif" with the Philistine.⁴⁹ By the former, the world is seen clearly; for the latter, it appears clouded and distorted by sentiment. These two types of mind are so different as to constitute what are virtually distinct species of mankind.

It is evident that these were ideas seriously espoused by Gourmont. They were not toys for a mind at play. They were the tenets of Gourmont as dogmatist. But they do not destroy—they complement—the picture of Gourmont as skeptic and dilettante.

THE ILLUSION OF FREEDOM

The conflict between his ideal of freedom and a mechanistic determinism is one which Gourmont sometimes felt but could never resolve. He expressed profound admiration for Rivarol's statement: "Celui qui connaîtrait à fond les secrets de l'anatomie rendrait compte de toutes les opérations de l'âme."⁵⁰ Consciousness appears to be a gratuitous addition to the chain of cause and effect. As a result he is sometimes drawn toward fatalism,⁵¹ obsessed by the notion that men are mere automata.⁵² At such times, his intellectual curiosity shows signs of weariness, a condition he is not above describing in eulogistic terms.⁵³ His response to the problem was either a dualism which separated thought and action, or a resigned acceptance, *faute de mieux*, of freedom as an illusion. "Free will is an illusion, but a necessary illusion."⁵⁴

Despite the fundamental difficulties which freedom involved, it continued to be for him an operative concept and ideal. He extolled it even when it seemed to have lost well-nigh all concrete content and become an abstraction like those ideas of justice and truth which he enjoyed dissociating. Rees says of him: "Ce sceptique se tenait toujours en dehors de toute préoccupation humaine ou humanitaire pour pouvoir enseigner aux autres l'amour de la liberté" (*op. cit.*, p. 173). With all his interest in liberty, he cannot be called a "liberal." The "defense of liberty" which has been called the aim of his philosophy⁵⁵ is a defense of art, of the appetites, and of free thought. Frequently the adjective sensual can be applied to all three objects of his solicitude. When men's thinking goes beyond this circum-

⁴⁹ Of the supporters of Dreyfus who called themselves "intellectuels," he writes: "En réalité, ces intellectuels sont . . . des idéo-émotifs, des sentimentaux, des spiritualistes" (*Le Problème du style*, p. 54).

⁵⁰ "Une telle clairvoyance de la science de demain touche au génie scientifique," exclaims Gourmont in *Promenades littéraires*, III, 120.

⁵¹ *Épilogues*, II, 137.

⁵² Cf. Albert Lippman, *Remy de Gourmont: The First Thirty Years* (New York University, 1940), summary of a dissertation, p. 16.

⁵³ *Épilogues*, II, 132, 133.

⁵⁴ *Promenades philosophiques*, II, 150, 203-04.

⁵⁵ Crawford, *op. cit.*, foreword; Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

scribed area, Gourmont is ready to file the charge of "idéologie." Such thinking, he would say, is not free.

Political liberty was not his concern. One of his exercises in dissociation was the separation of free thought in religion from political freedom. "Monarchiste et athée, cela va merveilleusement ensemble," he wrote, evoking the figure of Thomas Hobbes (*Epilogues*, II, 219). The degree of freedom which a society could provide for the *élite* was, for him, a test of its success. Like Nietzsche, he declared: "Le meilleur mécanisme social serait celui qui favoriserait la force au dépens de la faiblesse, la santé au dépens de la maladie" (*Epilogues*, III, 320). He has been termed a modern follower of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists.⁸⁶ Perhaps a better comparison would be with Rivarol,⁸⁷ the critic of the Revolution in whom eighteenth-century rationalism had become dissociated from eighteenth-century humanism and social idealism. There is nothing of the Encyclopedist in remarks like these: ". . . je ne désire guère . . . une Espagne libérale, raisonnable et plate. Qu'elle reste autoritaire et catholique, mais pittoresque, ce sera un plus agréable tableau pour le spectateur désintéressé" (*Epilogues*, vol. comp., p. 145). Seen as a whole, his philosophy of freedom takes on the contours of conservatism, and even reveals some of the asperity of reaction.

His development out of subjective idealism toward a more objective interest in the life of society left him with the fundamental problems unsolved, almost, indeed, unchanged.⁸⁸ His perspective was inveterately egocentric. Seeking to justify the absence of the social world from his novels, he wrote in *Lettres à l'Amazone*:

Il y a un 'plus loin' dans plus d'une direction. Qu'importe celle qu'on a prise, pourvu qu'on trouve au bout ou le long du chemin la liberté de l'esprit et le plein développement de ses facultés! (p. 219).

The attitude of detachment which he presented to the world and which gave him some sense of freedom is a screen which is lifted for us in his *Lettres à l'Amazone*. We read in a suggestive chapter on the "Will":

. . . moi qui regarde les passions à travers les vitres, à peu près comme on regarde l'éclipse avec des verres fumés et une froideur astronomique. . . . Enfin je sais que la volonté n'a joué dans ma vie qu'un rôle très modéré; à la première rébellion des êtres . . . je me suis non pas découragé mais désintéressé (p. 71).

⁸⁶ Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 144; André Billy, *La Littérature française contemporaine* (Paris, 1927), p. 189; André Beaunier, *Les idées et les hommes* (Paris, 1916), III, 230 f.

⁸⁷ Gourmont's admiration for Rivarol is shown in *Promenades littéraires*, III, "Rivarol," 95-165, its sequel on Champenetz, and in Vol. VI.

⁸⁸ Cf. André du Fresnois: "Remy de Gourmont, qui tient si fort à la liberté reste pour jamais l'esclave des modes de sentir qui, au temps de sa jeunesse, étaient répandus dans l'air et dont il a nourri son coeur" (*Une Année de critique littéraire* [Paris, 1913], p. 236).

The *Lettres intimes à l'Amazone* afford one an even clearer impression of the inner emptiness of this detachment: "Vous m'êtes un présent tombé du ciel au moment où je ne tenais plus à rien. . . . C'est moi qui étais devenu un fantôme!" (p. 34). The antinomy between thought and action, despite all his assertions of the unity of body and mind, remained a basic contradiction.⁵⁹ This is seen in the tendency for thought and act to become polar opposites. "Ah, qu'il serait bien plus sage de vivre, de simplement vivre, mais la pensée double et décuple la vie" (*Lettres à l'Amazone*, p. 167). And again: "Je suis devenu raisonnable. Mais je dis des blasphèmes qui sont aussi des mensonges. L'état de mon esprit n'est tel que par moments, et quand je suis sain, je dis au contraire: Il faut être jusqu'à la fin devant la vie comme un animal aveugle et sans expérience" (p. 222). Thus he tended to fall back upon an acceptance of life as intuitive and irrational.

In this surrender to instinct, Gourmont betrays again the basic dualism of his ideal of the "free intelligence." One of his younger contemporaries sensed the irony of such a concession to the unconscious, coming from him:

Alors que lui-même nous invite à placer l'Inconscient audessus de l'intelligence, comment lui dissimuler que l'estime et le goût les plus vifs pour sa lucide intelligence ne nous entraînent pas jusqu'à sympathiser avec son Inconscient.⁶⁰

The *Mercure de France*, with Gourmont as central figure, had been a leading organ of the literary vanguard of the 1890's. The magazine which assumed the leading role for the succeeding generation, *La Nouvelle Revue française*, published suggestive comment on Gourmont. This criticism provides an indication of why Gourmont could not be, even for men disposed to reject every ethical or metaphysical absolute, a master who could replace a Renan, a Schopenhauer, or a Nietzsche. Michel Arnauld writes, ". . . je doute fort qu'ils s'accommodent d'une négation sans lyrisme, d'un égoïsme sans ferveur" (*op. cit.*, p. 70).

Gide, noting a certain sterility in Gourmont's skepticism, taxes him with writing mainly for those "épicuriens que dupe la peur d'être dupe."⁶¹ The impatience of many young writers with a factitious and arid skepticism was expressed by Jules Romains in 1909. Though he does not mention Gourmont, his point is significant: "Les écrivains aiment le réel en profondeur. Les apparences sensibles, les phénomènes, ne sont un mur infranchissable que pour la connais-

⁵⁹ "C'est en vain que vous pensez et que vous parlez; l'action se déroule selon un autre plan et les deux plans sont peut-être éternellement insécables l'un par l'autre" (*Une Nuit au Luxembourg*, p. 116). The same dualism is seen in *Promenades littéraires*, III, 162-63.

⁶⁰ Michel Arnauld, *La Nouvelle Revue française*, II (1909), 71.

⁶¹ André Gide, "L'Amateur de Remy de Gourmont," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, III (1910), 435.

sance abstraite. Une âme, ayant le don et l'émoi, crève cette toile sans effort."⁶² Jacques Rivière was one who reacted in this way against what he called Gourmont's "rationalisme à rebours."⁶³ Gourmont was too skeptical about his own ideal of the free intelligence to hold back the reaction against intellectualism, led by Bergson, Péguy, and others.

CONCLUSION

Gourmont's admirers have seen in him the arch-example of the "adventurer in ideas."⁶⁴ An examination of these ideas shows his mind traveling the circuit between subjective idealism and mechanistic materialism. He never surmounts the dualism of *Les Chevaux de Diomède*. His attempt to observe humanity from the viewpoint of Sirius remains far from surpassing Voltaire's *Micromégas*, though he was tempted to think it did.⁶⁵ *Une Nuit au Luxembourg* is a compound of voluptuous reverie and loose philosophizing. Here, as in *La Physique de l'amour* and in *Le Problème du style*, there is evident a dogmatic predilection for reducing man to the physiological plane.⁶⁶

In comparison with Montaigne, whose skepticism is one of tolerance and human understanding, that of Gourmont falls into scale as singularly narrow and cold. Gourmont's formula—"le doute, tempéré par le mépris"⁶⁷—distinguishes him also from Anatole France. Gourmont was an ironist, but pity was no motive in his thought. Both were impressed by science, while questioning the efficacy and even the speculative validity of reason and doubting the possibility of progress.⁶⁸ Where they differ is in that element of sympathy for mankind which took the form of humanitarianism in Anatole France, and which was fundamentally lacking in Gourmont.

There has been a tendency among some writers to overemphasize the conception of Gourmont as a "super-Copernican,"⁶⁹ as an abso-

⁶² Jules Romains, "L'Unité de la jeune génération," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, II (1909), 32. His *unanimité* offers a direct answer to Gourmont's "La société est un archipel," when he says: "La réalité psychique n'est pas un archipel de solitudes" (*Problèmes d'aujourd'hui* [Paris, 1931], p. 164).

⁶³ Rivière et Alain-Fournier, *Correspondance* (Paris, 1926), III, 48.

⁶⁴ Pound, *Pavannes and Divisions* (New York, 1918), p. 115; Rees, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

⁶⁵ *Une Nuit au Luxembourg*, pp. 74-75.

⁶⁶ Cf. "L'homme au fond ne consiste qu'en un appareil digestif et un appareil reproducteur" (*Dernières pensées inédites*, n.p.).

⁶⁷ *Epilogues*, II, 71.

⁶⁸ Cf. Haakon Chevalier, *The Ironic Temper: Anatole France and His Time* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 10, 70; Helen B. Smith, *The Skepticism of Anatole France* (Les Presses universitaires de France, 1927), p. 5.

⁶⁹ Phrase used by Kenneth Burke, *Counterstatement* (New York, 1931), p. 26.

lute skeptic whose mind was open to all kinds of ideas. I have tried to mark out the contours of his skepticism, and the boundaries which limited the free action of his mind. His very desire to be free tended to restrict his understanding. "Il faut marcher . . . à la surface des choses," he wrote.⁷⁰ There is a great deal of the dogmatist in him, more than he admitted or suspected. This can be stated without any intent to deny altogether either his mental flexibility or his knowledge.

University of Wisconsin

⁷⁰ "Quand on appuie toujours sur les mêmes sortes de pensées . . . on y enfonce, on s'y enlise" (*Lettres à l'Amazone*, pp. 223-24).

REVIEWS

The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568. By FRANCIS LEE UTLEY. Columbus, Ohio: The Graduate School of the Ohio State University, 1944. Pp. xii + 368. \$4.00.

The Crooked Rib is not the usual popular book about woman's shortcomings or virtues, nor is it the stereotyped historical survey of literature on that subject. As its subtitle indicates, it is an analytical index.

Mr. Utley, by at once indexing and analyzing his material, has hit upon an efficient method of handling a large and unruly subject. For, in spite of his self-imposed limitations "to poems and prose works in English and Scots which relate to the argument about women and which were composed before the end of 1568," the author of the *Crooked Rib* has had hundreds of writings to consider and has had to do a good deal of choosing and rejecting.

Some 250 pages of the 368-page book are devoted to the analytical index which, in turn, is divided into three parts. Index I lists the satires, defenses, and debates under first lines in the case of poems, and titles in the case of prose. It includes 403 entries, the shorter ones taking up three or four lines, the longer ones approximating a page. Perhaps the following reproduction of one of the short entries will give the reader the clearest idea of Mr. Utley's procedure.

62. Farewell thou frozen hart and eares of hardened stele.

The lower forsaketh his unkinde loue.

(1) Tottel's Miscellany (second edition, 1557, and all later editions) (17 long couplets); ed. Rollins, I, 256, 1557 or before.

Rebellious lover, vicious attack on woman's wantonness with the use of hunting and hawking terms (see 7). The lover 'rather asketh present death, then to beholde thy face.'

Index II lists poems and alternative titles, while Index III gives the authorities and, as Mr. Utley says, "is provided as an aid to cataloguers or to others working at firsthand with MSS. or early editions."

In addition to the clear and informative index, Francis Utley has written an able introduction. Under heading I, he calls attention to the intermingled forces responsible for the literature about women and with both insight and common sense analyzes the forces which have been overstressed as well as those which have been overlooked. He feels, for example, that too much emphasis has been placed upon the asceticism of the middle ages and not enough upon the experience of the individual author or the very human desire for entertainment. Under heading II, Mr. Utley comments on the several genres of

satire and defense which, he says, "are organically hospitable to our controversy." In the third section of the introduction he refers to the French and Latin predecessors of the English writers and examines in more detail the development of the tradition in both England and on the Continent.

While no person confronted with the vast amount of material with which Mr. Utley has had to deal could include in a 403-item index all of the pertinent literature, he might, it seems to me, have omitted some of the brief poems with only a general bearing on woman's good or bad points, and included other works more specifically devoted to the subject. A few of the writings which I believe deserve a place on the index are:

The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, translated into English by John Bourchier in 1535; *Libro del Marco Aurelio*, translated by Sir Thomas North under the title, *The Dial of Princes*, in 1568; *The Castel of Loue*, translated out of the Spanish in 1540 by John Bourchier; *A lytell treatyse of the Beaute of Women*, translated by R. Fawkes in 1525; and the colorful fifteenth-century poem, *How the Goode Wif taught Hir Doughter*.

Likewise, in the third section of his introduction, Mr. Utley, in the discussion of foreign writers, omits many important names. In recognition of their influence upon the English tradition such men, for example, as Flavio Capella, Bruni of Pistoia, Lodovico Dolce, Alessandro Piccolomini, and Agnolo Firenzuola should, I believe, have been included.

However, these few sins of omission can readily be forgiven in view of the amount of valuable material which Mr. Utley has so admirably presented.

HELEN ANDREWS KAHIN

University of Washington

Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies. By GEORGE GORDON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. vii + 158. \$2.50.

This little volume was published two years after Professor Gordon's death. It consists of four lectures delivered at Oxford: "What is Comedy?" "Shakespeare's Answer," "King Lear," "Othello or The Tragedy of the Handkerchief," and several brief notes drawn from his Clark lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Both the lectures and the notes, full of grace and instructive hints, written in the charming style we have come to expect from an English scholar and gentleman, may nevertheless be best characterized as having issued from the pen of one who wrote "with a tired smile upon his lips, and a balance at the bank." They are, in truth, and for the most part, delightful recitals of the commonplaces of Shakespeare scholarship and criticism, adorned here and there with

such authoritative pronouncements as the following: "He [Shakespeare] was for balance, and order, and good-nature all round, and was at all times, and in all his works, the enemy of anarchy: for anarchy, he knew well, was the enemy of Freedom. I say Freedom rather than Liberty, because it better expresses Shakespeare's ideal. There is a great difference. Liberty is Latin and republican; Freedom is Northern and of the people. Liberty means the right of any citizen to call his neighbor in question, and complete Liberty therefore the right of everybody whatsoever to interfere with the concerns of everybody else. But Freedom means the right not to be interfered with—that Northern and very English right of being left alone. To all fanatics of Liberty, Shakespeare says, in effect, and he says it for England: if I want you I will ring."

The lecture on Comedy is the most instructive, albeit the most provokingly incomplete. In it Professor Gordon sets out the limitations of the satiric or corrective theory of Comedy, as stated by Meredith and Bergson. A theory of Comedy which regards laughter as "a social gesture, a social corrective, a flick of the whip to bring anomalies into the social fold" excludes from its orbit most of Shakespeare. It is suggested that there is laughter of the heart as well as laughter of the mind; that the very essence of some of Shakespeare's comic characters—Falstaff, for instance—is their resistance to all outward pressure of conformity which, "according to Bergson's theory, and to Meredith's also, it is the business of Comedy to exert"; that while Shakespeare directs his fire at "Pedantry, Self-importance," and like foibles, it is all done without malice or satiric intent. But these are merely suggestions, hints, possible clues for a theory of Comedy which should possess the universality necessary to embrace Shakespeare, but which Professor Gordon has failed to elaborate.

ANGELO M. PELLEGRINI

University of Washington

Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background. By SISTER MARY IRMA CORCORAN. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1945. Pp. xvi + 149.

It is now over thirty years since Robbins pulled together some of the materials connected with the hexameral tradition and published his dissertation at Chicago in 1912. The present thesis, an outgrowth of Robbins, is an account of the relations between Milton's conception of Paradise, as set forth in the poem and in *De Doctrina*, and the ideas on the same subject found in hexameral literature, as understood by Robbins. Within its limits, the account is adequate, and the ramifications of those relations are worked out in some detail; but the whole leaves the reader with a few misgivings. The author (p. 4 n.) attempts not very successfully to differentiate be-

tween literary and "non-literary" hexamera (a term, by the way, that cannot be, or at least has not been herein, closely enough defined to warrant its use in this connection), and thus wishes to direct her main efforts to the work of those writers mentioned in the *Commonplace Book* who deal with Creation in general and with Paradise in particular. The difficulty which immediately arises here is occasioned by the fact that Milton's reading, as it can be recovered, was by no means limited to those works listed in the *Commonplace Book*, and for almost every "source" discussed by this author, other possibilities suggest themselves, or are suggested by Milton to the reader. The thesis, as such, is excellent; but as a printed book on its subject, the start should in every case have been from Milton and his reading, not from Hanford, or some other recent commentator or critic, each of whom was engaged in trying to do something quite different from what the present author is trying to do.

The author begins with a chapter on "The Hexameral Sources" in which she seems to be a little too much confused between the relatively connected works on the general subject and the relatively vast literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the same subject. It gradually becomes evident that in her own mind she was not confused, but this should have been made clear to the reader at once. Many of the works of Milton's day or near it she has failed to mention (e. g., Thomas Malvenda, *De paradiso voluptatio*, Rome, 1605; Pope Pius II, *La discriptione de l'Asia . . . con l'aggiunta de l'Africa*, Vinezia, 1544). On the other hand, her insistence on the importance to Milton of maps, pictures (is she thinking only of printed pictures?), and commentaries is valuable. To them she might well have added herbals, early and late.

The chief value of the published work lies perhaps in the author's stress on the syncretic and synthetic nature of Milton's use of source material (pp. xiv and xv), although her charge, repeated from earlier writers, of inadequacy (p. xv) for many previous studies to which her thesis owes so much, is too sweeping. Certainly Pritchard, Baldwin, Gilbert, Barnes, Hanford, Greenlaw, Taylor, and others (p. xv) would be, as they have been, the first to exclaim against any such narrowing of Milton's sources as their intensive study of any one or more of them has seemed to imply to some readers. The author herself seems to err in the same direction in her statement (p. xv): "In order to appraise accurately Milton's Paradise, it is necessary to consider all that he has said of it against the background of the whole hexameral tradition." This statement could easily be taken to mean exactly what it says—that such a procedure will appraise accurately Milton's Paradise; but the author is well aware elsewhere that such a study can only make its limited contribution to our knowledge of Milton's treatment of sources. The hexameral literature is an important, but not all-inclusive, factor in understanding Milton's Paradise.

One phase of Milton's earthly Paradise that the author might well have examined in some detail in order to expound her thesis is found

in the direct implication in the poem that the earthly Paradise is a replica of Heaven (see Book 4, lines 205 ff., "A Heav'n on Earth . . ."). That is, Milton is careful to insist throughout the poem that, before the Fall, Earth is some sort of mysterious counterpart or reflection of Heaven, and no part of it more so than Paradise. Was this idea derived in part or in its entirety from hexameral literature or ramifications of it? Other and similar questions might have been dealt with. Perhaps the author may later return to them. She has raised or sensed some interesting questions (e. g. and *inter al.*, p. 50), to which, it is to be hoped, she will devote her attention in more detail in the future.

HARRIS FLETCHER

University of Illinois

Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century.

By GLADYS BRYSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.
Pp. ix + 286. \$3.00.

For some reason—possibly the inhibiting influence of Calvinism—Scots thinkers played no conspicuous part in philosophical inquiry before the "Enlightenment" occurred in the eighteenth century. Francis Hutcheson, the first in the field, was followed by David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, Lord Kames, and Lord Monboddo. As stated by the author, the main purpose of *Man and Society* is to summarize and evaluate the social theories propounded by this eighteenth-century group. Since they proceeded upon the assumption that the basic requirement for an inquiry into man's social relations is a knowledge of "the nature of man" himself, the initial concern of these "moral philosophers," as they liked to call themselves, was the problem of individual psychology—to be more exact, the problem of epistemology. This they proposed to solve by the experimental method, thus adapting to the study of mental phenomena the same objective method that was employed in the study of the natural sciences. Actually, they were empirical only in the sense that John Locke was, that is, they obtained their psychological data solely by introspection. Once the investigator had acquired knowledge of the processes of his own mind, theoretically he would have the key to a comprehension of man in all his complex relations—with God and the universal order, with his fellow-man in the numerous forms of social organization, from the family to the state. Truly, as Miss Bryson says, the philosophers of Scotia took a large segment of human learning for their province. Collectively, they deal with psychology, natural theology, ethics, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics—and more besides.

The task of summarizing and correlating their conclusions must have appeared a formidable undertaking, and it is but bare justice

to say that Miss Bryson has succeeded remarkably well in bringing to a focus a vast deal of eighteenth-century speculation and also in showing how significant at least some of this is for the social sciences of the present day. In my opinion, however, she has attempted more than could be done quite satisfactorily in the space she has allowed herself. Occasionally the reader has a disturbing feeling that she is hurrying over a topic—in the treatment of Hume, for example—that deserves fuller consideration and illustration. Necessarily, the method is selective; an exhaustive analysis would be endless. Here the question arises whether the selection of “typical” or “significant” opinions made by the author does not give an impression of greater harmony of opinion than existed in this “school” and whether this misconception is wholly corrected by her qualifying statements. After all, these Scots philosophers were concerned mainly with questions they inherited from their immediate predecessors in England and France. Some of the most important questions they undertook to answer are posed in Pope’s *Essay on Man*, which, with its numerous contradictions, serves to indicate the lines of cleavage that existed in his time and continued to exist throughout the entire century. Even if David Hume, who is *sui generis*, should be excluded from consideration, there would still remain a larger margin of disagreement, especially in psychology, than Miss Bryson’s survey would lead us to expect. This defect, however, was almost inevitable in a summary treatment, and only a captious critic would insist upon absolute accuracy of detail in a study which was intended primarily to chart the main streams of thought and which, by achieving this aim, makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of eighteenth-century philosophy.

C. A. MOORE

University of Minnesota

Wordsworth's Reading of Roman Prose. By JANE WORTHINGTON.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Pp. 84. \$2.50.

It is now nearly forty years since Professor Lane Cooper emphasized how much Wordsworth’s reading supplemented his imaginative observation of nature. Since that time there has been increasing stress on the poet’s intellectual development, culminating in De Selincourt’s edition of *The Prelude* and the Wordsworth Letters, and in such studies as Professor Havens’ *The Mind of the Poet*. Aside from Milton, it is probable that no English poet has been more vigorously intellectualized in recent years. The present study is a small tributary to this dominant current of Wordsworth criticism.

Starting from Wordsworth’s general tributes to classical writers, his occasional allusions to particular authors, and such knowledge as we have of his library, Miss Worthington first relates his evident fondness for the Roman prose writers to the political mood of the

time. The belief that history would provide models for the settlement of current problems was particularly energetic in revolutionary France. Availing herself of Dr. Parker's *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries* (Chicago, 1937), Miss Worthington shows in a very useful way the stimulus to classical reading which Wordsworth's residence in France must have given him. Specifically, the debates of the National Convention in the autumn of 1792—the months just prior to Wordsworth's return to England—were studded with analyses of public and private virtue in the Roman style as essential to the success of the French Republic. This is the general background of Wordsworth's well-known association with Beaupuy, and of the Girondist newspapers available to Wordsworth. A striking example of this cult is Louvet's speech in the National Convention: a French translation of an oration of Brutus, as reported by Livy. It is, of course, hardly surprising that the moral emphasis of Roman historians would commend itself to the author of *The Prelude*. Miss Worthington does not suggest that the Roman veneration of "simplicity, frugality, modesty, *pietas*" was the origin of Wordsworth's political attitudes, but it must nevertheless have been a substantial support and corroboration of his natural sympathies. This democratic emphasis of virtue continued as a firm political principle, says Miss Worthington; but she admits that in later years Wordsworth tended more and more to find virtue associated with landed property.

In a somewhat more precise way, Miss Worthington points out Wordsworth's indebtedness to Stoical writers in the composition of "The Ode to Duty," with its Senecan motto, and in associated poems during the years 1807 to 1815. She agrees with De Selincourt that "Wordsworth probably never thought of himself as other than Christian," but during this period he was very close to Roman Stoicism. For example, Seneca emphasized the importance of innate ideas, and the godlike creative power of the mind. In employing Reason to understand oneself, then, one participates in the nature of God. In "The Ode to Duty," Miss Worthington finds a full expression of Stoical ethics; it is, she says, "a prayer for constancy of mind and consistency of character. Wordsworth would now live obedient to the law of nature; in other words, he would become a Stoic." In later years Wordsworth felt that this simple formula was incomplete; thus he turned more and more to orthodox Christian belief.

The absence of full and precise data on Wordsworth's reading has been an obvious and acknowledged handicap in Miss Worthington's investigation. Nevertheless, her conclusions are inherently probable, and are likely to be accepted. She provides a useful analysis of the Roman thought most likely to have contributed to Wordsworth's changing attitudes.

B. R. McELDERRY, JR.

State College of Washington

The Shelley Legend. By ROBERT METCALF SMITH in collaboration with MARTHA MARY SCHLEGEL, THEODORE GEORGE EHRSAM, and LOUIS ADDISON WATERS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945. Pp. vii + 343. \$5.00.

I must be brief in order to come within my allotted space. According to the author the purpose of this investigation is to expose "fraudulent and mistaken efforts" to portray Shelley as "a Victorian angel." In short, he maintains that from Mary Shelley to the poet's latest biographer the accounts of Shelley's life have been so obscured by the transmission of "fallacious views" that no idea of the real man can be apprehended until "these mirages and mists have disappeared." He evidently hopes, therefore, to dissipate the encircling gloom and reveal "the real Shelley, who was also the ideal Shelley." Mr. Smith should have known that he was entering a forest as tangled and baffling as that in which Dante found himself on the eve of Good Friday in 1300.

It has long been known that a small portion of the material upon which a biography of Shelley must be founded is suspect. A number of authentic original documents have more or less extensive lacunae. Much, even of that which is authentic, is capable of various interpretations. Since students of Shelley have known all this for many years, they have a right to expect from a book which claims to dispel false views either new ideas or proof of facts that have been in question. This book provides neither.

To summarize briefly, Mr. Smith asserts (1) that Mary and Lady Jane Shelley did what they could to suppress information about the poet which counted against him, and sought to present him in the best possible light. This is not news. (2) On the basis of a comparatively small number of forged letters of Shelley (perhaps less than one-tenth of all) he attempts to create the impression that the whole body of Shelley's correspondence is suspect, and not to be accepted without examination by experts. Since 1852 we have known that forged letters were in existence. Seymour Da Ricci in 1927 in his *Bibliography of Shelley Letters* gave a good account of some 600 and recorded the Major Byron forgeries. This part of Mr. Smith's book, therefore, is not news. Moreover, it is an extravagance to suspect the whole body of Shelley's correspondence. (3) Mr. Smith makes a strong plea for Harriet Shelley, but here, too, he is late in the field. She has had many previous defenders. (4) I cannot agree that the biographers of Shelley have given fundamentally incorrect accounts of his life, or that any one of them has been more a special pleader than Mr. Smith himself.

The author makes much of Shelley's letter to Mary of the middle of December, 1816, which he affirms is a forgery. I shall not go into detail about this document, because, until it is once more available for examination by all means known to modern science, it is almost wasted time to discuss it. I venture to say only that it seems strange for either a forger or a dealer to adopt so questionable a method of establishing authenticity as stamping on the letter three postmarks so

far apart as 1816 and 1859. A letter so postmarked would for most people be at once suspect. About the middle of December, 1816, Shelley almost certainly did write Mary a letter in regard to Harriet's death. Who can now say positively that it was not the one so postmarked? Notwithstanding all that seems to militate against it, I am inclined to believe the letter genuine.

After all, we must remember that Mary Shelley had firsthand knowledge of most of these matters. Even Lady Jane Shelley had Mary's knowledge to rely upon. Tender of Shelley's memory both doubtless were, but hardly liars or deliberate deceivers. It is always dangerous to contradict contemporary witnesses. I am reminded of an incident at the celebrated trial of Judd Gray for the murder of his paramour's husband some twenty-five odd years ago. As I recall it, the presiding judge had questioned a portion of Gray's testimony in regard to the manner of the murder. "But, your honor," replied Gray hoarsely, "I was there." That is what we must always remember about Shelley, Mary, and a good many others who lived the events. They were there. They knew more than we shall ever know, and the only way their statements can be refuted is by incontrovertible proof. Speculations about statements capable of more than one interpretation cannot be accepted as proof. A man who writes to correct the errors and supposedly false inferences of others should be at great pains to be accurate. In *The Shelley Legend* I find much that is open to question. I shall refer to two points only. Hogg's attempted seduction of Harriet occurred in York, not in Edinburgh. According to Mr. Smith the diary for February 28, 1819, reads: "Leave Naples at three o'clock—A most tremendous fuss." The exact reading in my copy of *Shelley and Mary* is: "Leave Naples at 2 o'clock. Sleep at Capua. Vincenzo drives. A most tremendous fuss." Furthermore I believe Mr. Smith is wrong in his interpretation of the word "fuss."

I find myself falling back upon the attitude I have maintained for many years. It would be extremely interesting to know the exact history of all this complicated record, but I doubt whether it can ever be recovered. When I hear people making positive assertions in regard to the history of Shelley and his associates, I am inclined to smile. There is so much that will never be known. This does not mean that we are not well acquainted with the essential Shelley. "As I turn the last page of the biography," I wrote in 1927, upon the publication of Walter Edwin Peck's volumes, "I find myself asking whether the new work has changed our former notion of Shelley. Does he not remain essentially what we had previously conceived him to be?"

I believe we shall have to rest the matter there. The general narrative of Shelley's life is well known, and has been more or less adequately given by his biographers from Dowden to White. The minute details about a number of well-known events are not available. Mr. Smith's book does not supply these details, and it is therefore fair to say that his investigation does not supersede that of the

diligent workers who have labored in the field hitherto. Until more exact information comes to hand Mr. Newman Ivey White's painstaking biography of Shelley may stand. It is, of course, not definitive. No biography can be. It is, however, an anvil upon which many hammers can be broken.

WALDO H. DUNN

Scripps College

Letters of Thomas Hood: From the Dilke Papers in the British Museum. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by LESLIE A. MARCHAND. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Studies in English, No. 4, 1945. Pp. 104. \$2.00.

Paper shortage or no, the handful of Thomas Hood's letters which this slim volume contains was well worth printing. They add little or nothing to our general knowledge of the facts of Hood's life, nor do they modify the long-established popular impression of his personality. Indeed, their main value lies in the way in which they reinforce that impression; for in small compass we are given a vivid and winning insight into the spirit of a man who was never too poor to pun nor too ill to arrange a practical joke.

It is true that the first letter which Professor Marchand prints would scarcely persuade any reader that Hood's was essentially a jaunty, life-loving temperament. At the end of "The Most Terrible Ten Days of My Life"—made so by his wife's serious illness and the bickering and interference of her family, who had moved in on them for the occasion—he must find the relief which comes only from an uninhibited outburst to a trusted friend. "There is much of positive & negative moral electricity to work off & I make you one of my conductors," he apologizes to Dilke in the midst of almost incoherent pages of diatribe and self-examination. "And now," he concludes, truly, "you know more of T. Hood than you could gather from a *Comic Annual* . . . or anything I have ever written, saving this letter."

The following letters, however, find him in a more recognizable mood. They are a series of journals, or more accurately, interminable and vivacious monologues, written from Coblenz, where the Hoods were living in 1835-36. Some of the material eventually found its way into the *Comic Annual* and *Up the Rhine*, but it is doubly entertaining in the first draft. There are delightful attacks, written with the fervor of which only a displaced but home-loving Englishman is capable, on virtually everything connected with Coblenz and its boorish burghers. And in addition we are treated to the saga of the Hoods' maid-servant, Gradle, who surely is entitled to a place of honor in the history which some day must be written of the servants who have played their part, noble or iniquitous, in the making of English literature.

The sparkle of Hood's account never wholly conceals the fact that

his life at this point had its usual portion of concerns, domestic, physical, and financial. But they seem to have spoiled the fun as little for Hood as for his readers a century later. "To my comfort," he told Dilke, "all our tragics have a goodly proportion of farce along with them. Even the doctoring makes one laugh as well as cry." This was his salvation; and that is why it is inaccurate to think of Hood in terms of the familiar stereotype of the jester whose motley shrouds a breaking heart. The comic and the tragic to him were a single entity—it was the viewpoint that made the difference. With such a habit of mind, it is hard to be a mere sentimentalist.

RICHARD D. ALTICK

Ohio State University

John Henry Newman: An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art. By CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1945. Pp. xv + 472. \$3.50.

While it was to be expected that many books and articles on Newman would appear in the centennial year of his conversion, such an ambitious study as Professor Harrold's was hardly to be looked for. In the attempt to survey virtually all of Newman's work, Professor Harrold is often able to do no more than outline a book and to indicate the representative criticisms of it, but for the most part his expositions are illuminating and his reevaluations fresh and suggestive.

The structure of Harrold's book in itself constitutes an admirable exercise of critical judgment. Of the five main divisions, the first is devoted to Newman's life, a second and much longer section to the "Three Great Labors," the third and fourth to "Criticism and Controversy" and "Newman and His Art." The last brief section, unfortunately less satisfying than what goes before, is entitled "Newman and Our World."

Contemporary theologians and philosophers are recognizing more and more the seminal importance and the true originality of two of Newman's hitherto somewhat neglected works: *The Development of Christian Doctrine* and the *Grammar of Assent*. Harrold considers the former, and the studies that preceded it, as Newman's first great labor, the "Irish campaign" and the *Idea of a University* as his second, and the *Grammar* as the third. These represent what Harrold calls in his *Newman Treasury* the "three great themes" of Newman's entire career.

Though Harrold's whole treatment of the first theme is interesting, the most valuable pages on *The Development of Christian Doctrine* are those dealing with the term "development" itself, about which there continues to be so much misapprehension.

The section on Newman's educational philosophy is chiefly important in relating Newman's thought to his own age and in sketching the background of the "Irish campaign." There is, however, a serious deficiency in Harrold's discussion of the *Idea of a University*. By stressing Newman's distinction between "the gentleman" and "the Christian," and knowledge and virtue, which Corcoran has spoken of as a "philosophy of severance," without at the same time giving due weight either to the role of theology and philosophy in integrating the intellectual life of the university or to the "duties of the Church toward Knowledge," Harrold has made Newman's *Idea of a University* appear far more dated and Victorian than it really is.

While he purposely refrains from "technically judging the validity of Newman's arguments" in the *Grammar of Assent*, recognizing that much remains to be done on this phase of Newman's thought, Harrold does sum up with fairness the conclusions of technically trained theologians.

It is not possible to discuss every section of Harrold's book. Nothing of importance, however, concerning Newman's work has gone unnoticed. The pages on Newman's novels and poetry, both "by-products of his genius," are singularly free of exaggerated claims, while the chapter on Newman's sermons is by far the most searching discussion of them I have read anywhere.

Students of Victorian literature have long been indebted to Harrold for such excellent critical works as his *Carlyle and German Thought* and his admirable introduction to *Sartor Resartus* in the Odyssey Press series. They will find the scholarship in his latest book equally good. It might be said that at times Harrold has been almost too scholarly, by which I mean that his practice of acknowledging the contribution of other Newman scholars, and of presenting their varied conclusions about a given work, often impedes the movement and detracts from the coherence of his book. One wishes for fewer quotations and for more of Harrold's own authoritative judgments.

Such minor oversights as there are, like the dating of Harold Laski's *Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty* 1927 instead of 1917 (p. 450), or the designation of Ernest Renan as "a certain French priest" (p. 1) in no way detract from the excellence of Harrold's book. It should take its place as an indispensable study of the entire range of Newman's work.

ALVAN S. RYAN

University of Notre Dame

William Ernest Henley. By JEROME HAMILTON BUCKLEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. xi + 234. \$2.75.

Like Byron, who preceded him, and Kipling, who followed him, Henley suffered from a radical defect of intelligence. Perhaps it was this defect which led him, unlike Baudelaire, to what Kierkegaard noted as the extremest form of despair, "the despair of willing desperately to be oneself—defiance." The relevant criterion is Baude-

laire, because he presents the sole artistic alternative to mere defiance—that of exploration and contemplation. Yet the coarse sensibility and diabolic heroics of *Childe Harold* are subtle beside the exhibitionist vulgarity of “Madam Life’s a piece in bloom.” But, whereas Byron passes from the frantic puppyism of *Childe Harold* to the relative poise of *Don Juan*, Henley and Kipling represent only a progressive deterioration and impoverishment of the attitudes of the early Byron.

The present work, which Mr. Buckley subtitles *A Study in the Counter-Decadence of the Nineties*, is a commentary which will automatically come to occupy the reserve shelf in upper-division courses on the “Victorian Period.” It is handy. Its obvious air of thoroughness, its documentation and bibliography represent the recognized minimal standard of the Ph.D. dissertation. However, the frequency with which we get familiar glimpses of Victorian notables variously associated with “W. E. H.” produces a richer fabric than mere “research” demands. In fact, it is clear that Mr. Buckley intended more than is ordinarily comprehended in the research project. He aimed to achieve some sort of *critical revaluation* of a man and his period. And thus he invites a much more serious standard of judgment than is applied to the routine products of academic leisure.

In a noisy and confused sort of way Henley was, on Mr. Buckley’s own showing, seriously concerned about the welfare of society and letters. His encyclopedic range of interests, his crude but extensive erudition (on a par with that of George Saintsbury) were focused on contemporary problems. He had some sense of contemporary relevance and coordination in his intellectual life. He pumped for Fielding in place of Thackeray, for Millet and Rodin rather than Rossetti and Beardsley. He felt that somehow the aristocratic Disraeli represented a more propitious future for society and letters than the oracular Gladstone with his enthusiasm for Marie Corelli. Henley, in short, however stunted, is in the main tradition of English life and letters which runs through Ben Jonson, Dryden, Pope, Dr. Johnson, and Byron, to Kipling, the tradition for which no divorce of life and letters is possible. To illustrate this fact was certainly Mr. Buckley’s intention. But he was not equipped for the job.

A basic failure of this book is associated with its central thesis. Henley is represented as an “activist”—a man with a gusto for great books, great men, and great living. An obvious foil for aesthetic “passivists” like Rossetti and Wilde, in short, an English Whitman, he is the child of Byron and the father of Kipling. His residual legatees were Wells, Bennett, Chesterton, and Belloc, and the English Public School Boy. (Had Mr. Buckley a firmer hold on his material he need not have excluded Browning from the total picture.)

Mr. Buckley’s “activist” notion breaks down through his failure to see that the rebellious pose of the aristocratic Byron produced both Henley and Wilde. “Passivist” insolence of the dandified Disraeli or Wilde variety is just as contemptuous of bourgeois complacency as the noisy vituperation of Henley, Carlyle, or Meredith.

Mr. Buckley's analysis of his materials has been too superficial to discover the basic unity between the attitudes of Oscar Wilde and Sherlock Holmes on the one hand, of Henley and Bulldog Drummond on the other, and of the mingling of both in Kipling. For Kipling at school was an aesthete just as naturally as he was later an apostle of energy. One observes the same phenomenon in Tennyson, who wavers always between a Lotus isle and the strenuous life of Ulysses. In a word, "activism" and "passivism" are bogus alternatives. And while the prevalence of either one represents the collapse of a society, neither attitude represents an intelligent awareness of the issues. But in the attitude of the socially observant and critical Byron of *Don Juan* there is more possibility of developing a mature poise than in the earnest and muscular despair of Carlyle and Henley.

By failing to penetrate his materials, Mr. Buckley fails to give any current relevance to them. He is tepidly expository where he has a chance to show that with the collapse of a genuine traditional society (the kind, for example, that survived to make Cobbett a great English classic), the best talents and most extensive erudition served to make Henley and others only very bad minor poets. If there is today a recurrence of stale aestheticism, that is no excuse for reviving an equally futile "counter-decadence." A disposition to do this on Mr. Buckley's part is perhaps a result of his failure to evaluate the poetry of Henley. It is, however, hard to judge whether Mr. Buckley is merely pleading a case, or whether he is really as helplessly uncritical a reader of verse as he would seem to be (*vide* pp. 90-93, for example).

H. M. McLUHAN

Assumption College, Ontario

Twenty-Five Years of Walt Whitman Bibliography, 1918-1942. By GAY WILSON ALLEN. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company, 1943. Pp. 57.

The author intended this work to be a supplement to the extensive Walt Whitman bibliography in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*. While he makes no claims to an exhaustive listing of publications relating to Walt Whitman during the years 1918 to 1942, he does claim to have included all the major items even to the listing of unpublished doctoral dissertations plus news items and editorials on Whitman in the *New York Times*.

A sufficient test of his reliability is one fact. The bibliography does not include Esther Shephard's *Walt Whitman's Pose* published by Harcourt, Brace and Company (1938). Since this work was a doctoral thesis, was published by one of the best known publishers, and was reviewed by many literary and scholarly magazines, there is no possible excuse for the omission. The bibliography is useful but not to be considered either accurate or reasonably complete.

E. H. EBY

University of Washington

Henry James: The Major Phase. By F. O. MATTHIESSEN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xvi + 190. \$2.50.

Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916. By RICHARD NICHOLAS FOLEY. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1944. Pp. 169.

Professor Matthiessen's study uses fragments of James's "unpublished working notebooks, which, extending from 1878 to 1914, concentrate most heavily on his aims and ambitions during the crucial period of the eighteen-nineties" (p. xiii). Both he and Professor Kenneth B. Murdock are editing these notebooks, comprising 150,000 words, and all Jamesians eagerly await the appearance of the book. In the present work, "the major phase" is restricted largely to *The Ambassadors* (published in 1903 but written during 1900-1901), *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Golden Bowl* (1904), and the revision of *The Portrait of a Lady*. "Eighteen ninety-five was the great turning point of James's career" (p. 1), but to have gone fully into the psychological ramifications incident to such works as *What Maisie Knew* (1897), "The Turn of the Screw" in *The Two Magics* (1898), "The Great Good Place" and "Maud-Evelyn" in *The Soft Side* (1900), and "The Beast in the Jungle" in *The Better Sort* (1903) would have raised problems requiring more space than is compassed in the book.

During the course of his study Professor Matthiessen has taken exception to the thesis of Van Wyck Brooks and the late Vernon Louis Parrington that life in England and on the Continent was detrimental to James's literary life (pp. ix-x); he has gone to considerable pains to refute the opinions of some commentators that James's revisions rather spoiled than enhanced his works (pp. 152-86); he has emphasized James's insistence on moral values though James used the church as an institution very slightly (pp. xi, 145-46, and elsewhere); he has strongly asserted James's characteristic process of reflection leading to infinite elaboration and his later technique employing the method of the play (pp. 9-17); he has stressed James's strong recognition of the need to "Live all you can" (pp. 15, 25, 29-30); and throughout the book he has elaborately indicated the visual qualities in James's work. On these judgments and emphases your reviewer cannot quarrel; he has already taken the same views in print.

The special contributions in the book lie in these fields: (1) the discussion of the highly important role imagery plays in James's works (pp. 31-37, 60-74, and scattered through the chapters on *The Golden Bowl* and "The Painter's Sponge and Varnish Bottle"); (2) the use of James's unpublished notebooks to show origins and problems pertaining to various works (pp. 2-17), and especially to *The Ambassadors* (pp. 23-24, 29-30), *The Wings of the Dove* (pp. 52-54), *The Golden Bowl* (p. 91), "The Special Type" (p. 112), and "A Round of Visits" (pp. 113-14); (3) the examples which characterize the basic nature and specific types of revisions made in *The Portrait of a Lady* (pp. 152-86).

Dr. Foley's study of American criticism of the works of Henry James is based on his examination of 745 reviews and articles appearing in 59 representative magazines during the period 1866-1916. Special attention has been given to the opinions of such critics as W. D. Howells, W. C. Brownell, H. E. Scudder, Brander Matthews, H. W. Boynton, G. E. Woodberry, Rebecca West, and Louis I. Bredvold. James's reputation as a critic and as a writer of travel sketches was always high, but critical opinion fluctuated along the course of his fiction. Dr. Foley has indicated the high and low points: the peaks were established by *The American* (1877), *The Tragic Muse* (1890), *The Two Magics* (1898), and *The Ambassadors* (1903), the last being highest; the low points were scored by *The Bostonians* (1886), *The Sacred Fount* (1901), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904), *The Sacred Fount* being lowest. Later critics have found more to admire in the technique of *The Awkward Age* and in the qualities in *The Wings of the Dove*, *The Golden Bowl*, and the later short stories than did the critics of James's day. Two errata may be noted: *Milly Theale* should read *Milly Theale*, and *Elizabeth Cary* should read *Elisabeth Cary*.

LYON N. RICHARDSON

Western Reserve University

Annals of the New York Stage. Volume XIV (1888-1891). By GEORGE C. D. ODELL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xvi + 935. \$8.75.

There is nothing new that can be said about Professor Odell's work at this late date. But, as one reads these volumes, he cannot but be impressed by the fund of rare good humor which is everywhere evident. Any man who can remark that "It was twenty years since Miss Thompson and her British blondes had enraptured our gilded youth, in Ixion, and twenty years mean much to a blonde, British or other" has the leaven that makes scholarship anything but the dry-as-dust chronicle which some of our graduate schools insist upon. It is precisely this characteristic which makes interesting even the most inconsequential entertainments (as Gilmore's Band Concert on Staten Island, or the Rentz-Santley Company at the London Theatre). He is always interested, and his enthusiasm is communicated through a vigorous and pleasing style. Appropriately enough, this volume is dedicated to Arthur Hobson Quinn.

Since by 1888 the author had become an inveterate theatre and concert goer, we have the benefit of his personal observation on many of the entries; it goes without saying that they are delightful. Quotation of newspaper criticisms side by side with the cold detail of success or failure is often an amusing proof that critics were no more perspicacious in those days than in these, and that they were

just as ill-informed. The corrections of Allison Brown are of importance, and the handling of the treacherous problem of cast changes is a model for future writers.

Almost worth the price of the volume is the rare collection of pictures. It is extremely fortunate that Columbia saw fit to back this project in no niggardly fashion. In this respect, Mr. Odell is in a position which excites the envy of all who have published histories of theatrical activity in other cities. However, I should like to see an alphabetical index of these pictures in place of the rather useless list which precedes the text. An index volume for the whole series would be very valuable and desirable.

In many respects, these years were the end of an epoch. The "grand" school of tragic acting departed with the deaths of Booth and Barrett, and the retirement of Mary Anderson; old comedy lost its most brilliant exponents with the passing of John Gilbert, Lester Wallack, and Charles Fisher. And yet New York did not lack brilliant performers and performances. That magnificent combine of Jefferson, Florence, and Mrs. Drew appeared in *The Rivals*; Richard Mansfield was seen in Fitch's *Beau Brummel* and in an elaborate production of *Richard III*. And in the stock companies of Daly, Palmer, and Daniel Frohman, such players as Ada Rehan, John Drew, Otis Skinner, Henry Miller, Agnes Booth, and Maud Adams scintillated in their respective orbits. Although unthought of today, such foreign stars as Coquelin, Possart, Salvini, and Bernhardt played in their native tongues to capacity houses.

Pinero and Jones were still great favorites, but American playwrights were close behind. During these years Howard's *Shenandoah*, MacKaye's *Money Mad*, Thomas' *Alabama*, Young's *Ganelon*, and Hoyt's *A Trip to Chinatown* had first performances, and achieved varying measures of success. Quantitatively, of course, musical productions, cheap melodrama, and variety entertainment attracted the most spectators.

The sections concerning musical activity make interesting reading, particularly those relating to the disintegration of the German tradition at the Metropolitan, and the early conducting of Walter Damrosch. And when we consider that on one page can be found notice both of a recital by Lilli Lehmann and of a concert by the Zither Verein, we can safely assume that the record is all-inclusive.

THOMAS F. MARSHALL

Western Maryland College

Studies in Language and Literature. By the Members of the Graduate Staff of the Departments of Language and Literature of the University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 345. \$3.00.

This book is one of sixteen planned in celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the University of North Carolina, and more precisely as the special contribution to that celebration of *Studies in Philology*, of which it is No. 3 in Vol. XLII (1945). It appears under the editorship of Professor George R. Coffman, and is made up of papers, twenty-eight in all, from most of the members of the graduate staff of the departments of language and literature.

The first paper is suitably a history of *Studies in Philology* itself by William M. Day, from its foundation in 1906, and, with more detail, from its appearance as a quarterly in 1915 under the admirable successive editorships of Greenlaw, Royster, Foerster, and Coffman. During all these years it has provided a distinguished presentation of literary scholarship, and, especially since 1922 through its bibliography on the Renaissance, a tool of the greatest value for students in that field. For these services its editors and the University receive the gratitude of all scholars.

The other articles are of two kinds—surveys of some dozen broad fields, and studies of definitely restricted subjects. Most of the surveys are fairly general reviews of the work of recent years in these fields, summarizing the accomplishments and trends in each, and giving suggestions for further investigation. Of this kind are the articles by B. L. Ullman on classical studies (emphasizing the expanded interest in entire civilizations rather than only in their literature, and interestingly pointing out how war has brought to light more material for study); Urban T. Holmes, Jr., on comparative literature (discussing the beginnings of its study in Europe, the course offerings in it in America since 1892, and the difficulties it faces because of students' lack of facility in foreign languages and their inability to read intelligently literature in any language); George S. Lane on the change in emphasis in linguistics from philosophical and psychological considerations to a purely descriptive and mechanistic approach; Richard Jente on proverbs (presenting mainly the inducements offered by paroemiology to students beginning their advanced work); R. S. Boggs on folklore (outlining as typical the growth of interest in it at Chapel Hill); and Sturgis E. Leavitt on Latin American literature in the United States (from a translation in 1827 by William Cullen Bryant of a Cuban poem down to the present time). Hardin Craig's "Recent Scholarship of the Renaissance" is a selected bibliography of scholarship in the period since 1918, and Gregory Paine's "American Literature One Hundred and Fifty Years Ago" reviews the publications in the years 1789-1795 when the nation and the University of North Carolina were both being formed.

The papers on precise subjects must be even more briefly noticed. Several of them follow a similar pattern: the submission of evidence

contradicting commonly accepted ideas about individual authors—that Sophocles was aloof from his times, that the later Wordsworth was a hidebound conservative, that Byron held a low opinion of the ballads, that Thoreau was uniquely original in his ideas. An especially interesting paper of this kind is George Coffin Taylor's refutation of Theodore Spencer's idea that Shakespeare in his later years changed in his conception of the beast in man. Other papers deal with the date of the Hellenic alphabet, Switzerland's service to a proper appreciation of Dante, the real significance of *Muipotmos*, the personal relations of Jonson and Chapman, Sir Thomas Browne as a wit, *Tristram Shandy* and the novel, neglected issues of the *Spectator*, the attitude of critics in Madrid, 1828-1833, to romantic drama, the formal short story in France before 1850, Hardy's use of science, Theodor Storm's use of personifications, James Thomson ("B.V.") and Leopardi, Marietta Holley's illustration of the dialect of upstate New York, and the difficulty and the importance of critical reading. This last article, by H. R. Huse, while effectively arguing for critical discrimination of words, the strict ideas they stand for, and their connotations, shows what seems to be the customary suspicion of general semanticists of these connotations and therefore of poetry itself, certainly a strange position for anybody who really believes in literature to assume.

GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

University of Colorado

Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Thirteen Years, 1932-1944. Edited by WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1945. Pp. 1-450. \$5.00.

Students of Victorian literature will welcome this volume with open arms, with cries of joy, with shrieks of delight, or with whatever cliché is most habitual to one's mode of speech. To find collected in one volume the titles of books and articles on nineteenth-century authors and studies on various intellectual trends which have been appearing annually in the May issue of *Modern Philology* is indeed no small favor. To add to the convenience is included an index of Victorian writers discussed, whereby the hunt for material is reduced to a minimum. For reasons of economy the text was reproduced by photography. The only changes made from the original were continuous pagination and uniform page headings. This process of reproducing texts opens up interesting possibilities, especially where no corrections or changes are called for. I heartily recommend that other journals be moved to do similar publications of their annual bibliographies at intervals of, say, ten or twelve years.

EDWARD GODFREY COX

University of Washington

The Direct Method in German Poetry. By E. M. BUTLER. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. 32. 1/6 net.

Profundity, excess, and intensity are essential features of German expression, but not the only ones. Even within the development of one and the same personality seemingly irreconcilable contrasts are revealed, e.g., Goethe is not only the author of *Urfaust*, *Werther*, *Ganymed*, and *Prometheus*, but also of *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Römische Elegien*, and *Der West-östliche Divan*. As to *Faust* itself, there is as much of Mephisto in Goethe as of Faust. In medieval German literature *Tristan und Isolde* stands at least on an equal level with *Parzival*, thus showing the characteristic dual expression which we can also discover in the music of Mozart and Beethoven, Bach and Richard Wagner, and in the paintings of Dürer and Grünewald. The variations of the dual theme are manifold. A glance at a few representative examples in literature and philosophy will suffice: Der von Kürnberg-Heinrich von Morungen, Wolfram-Gottfried, Goethe-Hölderlin, Schiller-Heine, Rilke-Georg, and particularly Karl Marx-Nietzsche, whose antithesis of "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" in his *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* brilliantly illuminates the depth of the problem.

Search for mysteries is, as long ago Madame de Staël, amongst other critics, rightly emphasized, one of the mainsprings of German expression. It is, therefore, a futile undertaking to deduct from reality a wish phantasy of the lovable and non-political Romantic German dreamer and ignore the other totally different face. In storming the universe, the Sturm und Drang writers brushed reasoned behavior aside; whilst Hölderlin with his awe-inspiring visions was doomed to destruction, and Novalis, already yearning for a mystic unity with death, sang his profound "Hymns to the Night." Moreover, the difference between Baudelaire or Proust and H. v. Hofmannsthal or Thomas Mann is significant.

Professor E. M. Butler in her original and stimulating inaugural lecture, delivered at Cambridge on January 25, 1946, probes to the root of the existing conflict when she says: "It is the Faustian habit of mind, the pre-eminently German habit. It is far, indeed, from ignoble, and it probes very deep. But the spirit of this earth rejects it, you will remember." Professor Butler broadly surveys the whole field under the aspect of two terms: "Mystery and wonder can be evoked by creating with sounds or words . . . or by taking mystery itself as the object of art. The first method, which works by suggestion, implicitly, I call the indirect method; the second which is explicit, I label direct." Thus Homer is the master of the indirect, and Dante and Milton are masters of the direct method. Shakespeare is equally at home in both. So is Goethe in *Urfaust*, but otherwise often the direct method outweighs the indirect: "after all this is only what one would expect from a race so musically gifted, so mystically inclined and so philosophically minded as the Germans" (p. 15).

Also, thinking of Dostoevski, one can rightly say that the direct approach has been "gaining ground rather rapidly" in twentieth-century literature.

The author in no way wants to discredit the direct method as such, and it is true that it can, when used by creative artists and poets such as Aeschylus or Goethe or Hölderlin, call up gigantic visions. Both methods, however, can be abused; the indirect can lead to artificiality or flatness, the direct to demonic outbursts of violence. If the latter is used in life, our modern civilization is at stake; if used in poetry, it can produce works of art which bear the stamp of immortality. Thus, in the German habit, Professor Butler sees triumph and catastrophe inextricably interwoven.

A. CLOSS

University of Bristol

Icelandic: Grammar, Texts, Glossary. By STEFAN EINARSSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. Pp. xxxviii + 502. \$5.50.

There are two purposes that might be served by a textbook of modern Icelandic. It might, for example, be a means of rapid initiation into the everyday vernacular for service personnel sent to Iceland for the emergency, or it might, on the other hand, be a fuller treatment of the language for all interested. The author, who is fully equipped by birth and training for his task, has made some attempt to fulfill both purposes, but has wisely laid his main emphasis on the one of greater permanency and has thereby produced a work that can hardly be replaced for a long time.

In intelligible language minute details of grammar are faithfully and accurately elucidated. Worthy of especial mention are the sections called simply "Pronunciation" and "Syntax" of the verb, in which latter all sorts of details, including a remarkable development of use of auxiliaries to express verb aspects, are included. On the other hand, "Word Formation" is dealt with very briefly in an appendix, accent stress is passed over with similar brevity, and I note nothing on pitch, which is of particular interest and importance in the Scandinavian languages.

There is naturally not much for the non-Icelander to offer in the way of corrections or suggestions for improvement. Even misprints have been reduced to an extreme minimum. In the phonetic transcription one is a little disturbed by the sign marking the voiceless character of sounds normally voiced, so that for example *r*, with which one has long been familiar as indicating the vocalic use of the liquid, is here employed for the extreme opposite, the voiceless consonant. One also notes that *j*, described as a spirant (p. 15), is equated with the English *y*, which is a semi-vowel.

From the point of view of historical development one occasionally, but rarely, meets a statement that one would wish expressed otherwise. For instance (p. 48) the suffixed article *inn* does not lose its *h* (from *hinn*); it never had an *h*, but goes back to the older "free

article" *inn*. More serious (p. 78) is the statement that *koma* and *sofa* have lost the *v* before the *o*, accompanied by the inclusion of *sofa* and *troða* as irregular members in the fourth ablaut verb class. The irregularity in all three verbs lies in the intrusion of the zero grade (Schwundstufe) vowel into the present tense for reasons not fully clear (Prokosch speaks of "aorist presents"). The Icelandic *o* in *koma* and *sofa* has then originated from $ue > u > o$, a much older phenomenon than the Scandinavian loss of *v* (or rather *w*) before *o* and *u*. *Sofa* and *troða* on the evidence of the West Germanic languages (*troða* partly on the evidence of the Scandinavian) should belong in the fifth ablaut verb class. The zero stage has in *troða* originated from *re* (or *er*) $> r > ru > ro$ (Gothic *trudan*).

In conclusion there are two things forced upon one's attention by perusal of this admirable book. The first is that the history of the Scandinavian languages is altogether too much neglected in the study of Germanic philology. Even so important a work as that of the late Professor Prokosch (*A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, 1938) shows astonishing ignorance of Scandinavian developments subsequent to what it calls Old Norse (e.g., p. 106). The other point forced upon one's attention is the incorrectness of the view frequently held by Icelanders, as well as others, that the language of the sagas is still spoken on the island. If one bears in mind that, compared chronologically with English and German, the language of the sagas should be called Middle Icelandic rather than Old Norse, it has changed fully as much as German and hardly less than English in the same length of time. What gives the present language its ancient aspect, apart from its antiquated (no longer phonetic) spelling, is its remarkable retention of inflexional endings and its considerable, but not complete, freedom from foreign loan words.

A. LEROY ANDREWS

Cornell University

BOOKS RECEIVED

ENGLISH

- The Baconian Lectures on Aims and Progress of Research in the State University of Iowa, 1945. General Theme: Global Trends in Research. Iowa City: University of Iowa Series on Aims and Progress of Research No. 80, Study Series No. 415, New Series No. 1389, 1946. Pp. 121.
- Bagster-Collins, Jeremy F. George Colman the Younger, 1762-1836. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. 367. \$3.00.
- Brooks, Cleanth (editor). The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Richard Farmer. The Percy Letters, general editors, David Nicol Smith and Cleanth Brooks. Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. xviii + 218. \$3.50.
- Harding, Davis P. Milton and the Renaissance Ovid. Urbana: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Volume XXX, 1946. Pp. 105. \$1.50.
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. Newton Demands the Muse: Newton's *Opticks* and the Eighteenth Century Poets. Princeton: Princeton University Press, History of Ideas Series No. 2, 1946. Pp. xi + 178. \$2.00.
- Prouty, Charles T. (editor). Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild. Columbia: University of Missouri Studies XXI, No. 1, 1946. Pp. 191. \$2.00.

FRENCH

- Ellis, Lowell Bryce (editor). Estienne Jodelle: *Cleopatre Captive*, A Critical Edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Publications of the Series in Romance Languages and Literatures, Extra Series No. 9, 1946. Pp. viii + 128.
- Fellows, Otis. The Periodical Press in Liberated Paris: A Survey and Checklist. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University, 1946. Pp. v + 29.
- Havens, George R. (editor). Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series XV; London: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 278.

ITALIAN

- De Simone, Joseph Francis. Alessandro Manzoni: Esthetics and Literary Criticism. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1946. Pp. 429. \$5.00.
- Prezzolini, Giuseppe. Repertorio Bibliografico della Storia e della Critica della Letteratura Italiana dal 1932 al 1942. Vol. I: A-L. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1946. Pp. xvi + 331. \$12.50 per volume.

SPANISH-AMERICAN*

Saco, José Antonio. *La Vagancia en Cuba*. La Habana: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, Cuadernos de Cultura, Séptima Serie No. 3, 1946. Pp. 119.

GENERAL

Gaynor, Frank. *International Business Dictionary in Five Languages: English, German, French, Spanish, Italian*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1946. Pp. viii + 452. \$6.00.

Hoffman, Frederick J., Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich. *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 440. \$3.75.

Knickerbocker, William S. (editor). *Twentieth Century English*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1946. Pp. 460. \$5.00.

* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.

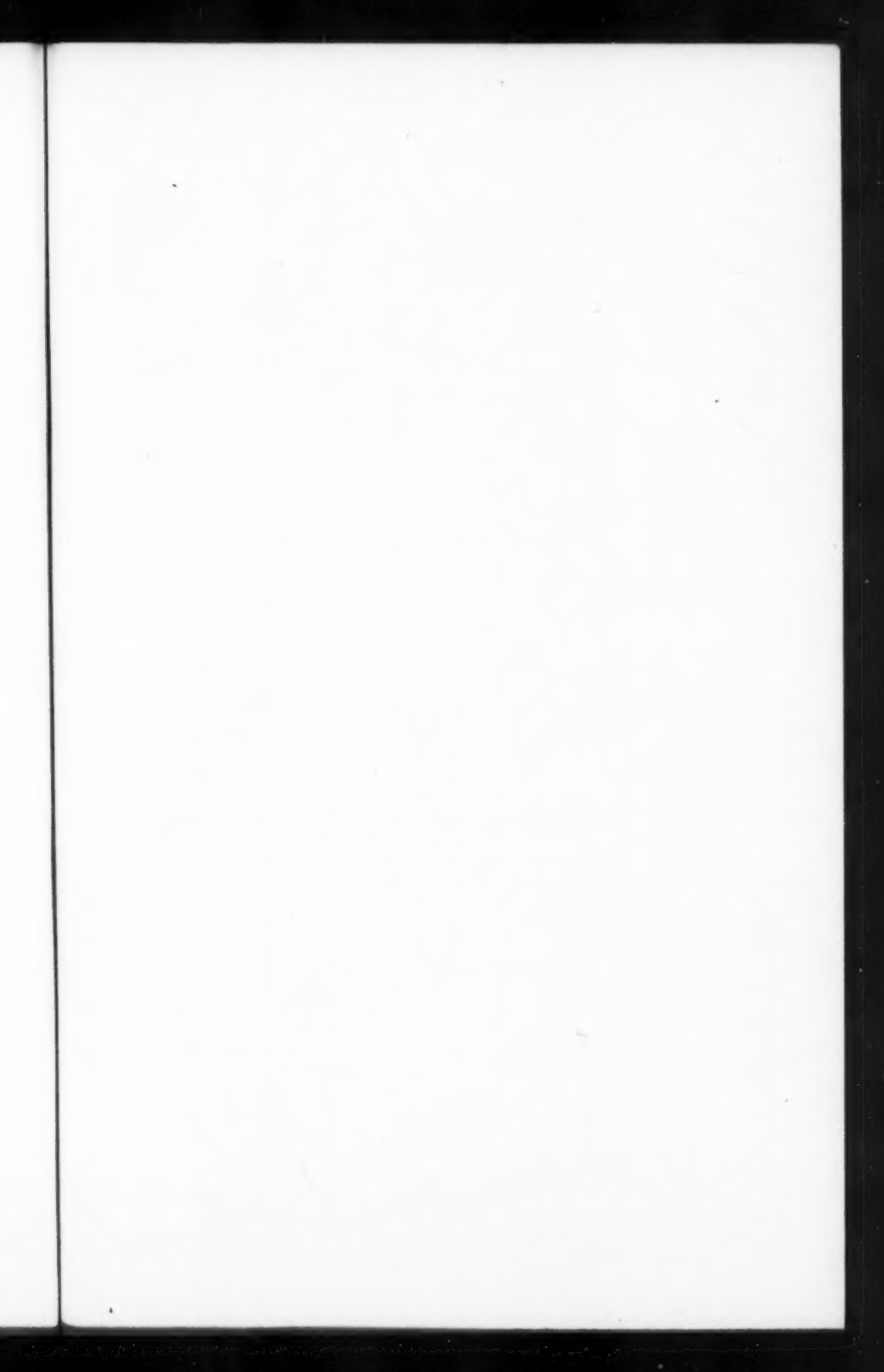
ANNOUNCEMENT

The *Modern Language Quarterly* welcomes the opportunity of calling attention to the appearance of a new scholarly journal sponsored by the Department of Romance Languages of Syracuse University and the Centro de Estudios Hispánicos—

SYMPOSIUM

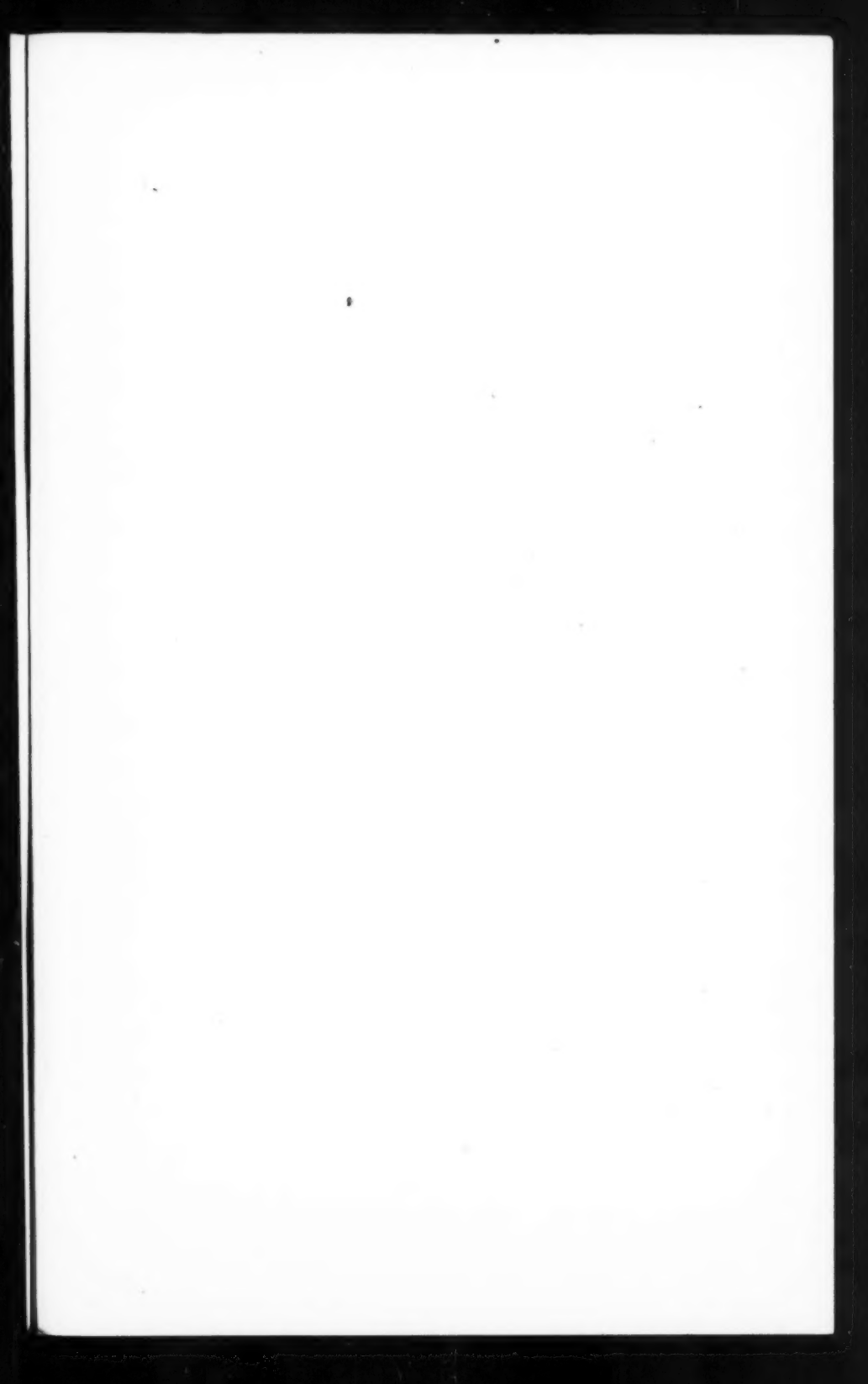
A Journal Devoted to Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures

Symposium offers its pages to learned articles dealing with all modern foreign languages and literatures, with emphasis on material of an academic research nature but admitting also essays on the creative aspects of literature. The subscription price of *Symposium* is \$3.00 per year (2 issues) or \$2.00 per issue. The first number will appear in November, 1946. Correspondence should be directed to the Editor, 313 Hall of Languages, Syracuse University, Syracuse 10, New York.









HISPANIC REVIEW

A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Research in
the Hispanic Languages & Literatures

Editors: M. ROMERA-NAVARRO and OTIS H. GREEN



Published by

The University of Pennsylvania Press
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Subscription price, \$4.00 a year; single issue, \$1.25

To the Readers of the *Modern Language Quarterly*
who appreciate good literature

Prairie Schooner

Literary Quarterly of the University of Nebraska Press

offers interesting fare. Our magazine, kept on a constantly high literary level and edited with an eye to readers' entertainment, has made friends and won loyal supporters all over the United States. Why not complement your pleasure in reading the *Modern Language Quarterly* by subscribing to the

PRAIRIE SCHOONER

\$1.50 a Year

45c a Copy

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS
Administration Building 209

Lincoln 8, Nebraska

